EARLY JOB-CHANGING PATTERN AND OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT: A LIFE-COURSE STUDY OF YOUNG WORKING WOMEN IN THE NLS

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ABSTRACT

Research tradition following the Blau-Duncan model on the occupational mobility process overemphasized individuals' pre-labor market characteristics. The labor market structure approach began to pay attention to the effect of the labor market process on occupational achievement. This project studies the consequence of job-changing pattern on occupational achievement. It is expected that the relationship between job-changing pattern and occupational achievement is conditioned by respondents' life-course context.

It finds that low current occupational achievement, low job inertia (work experience, seniority, job-training), and low education level increase the likelihood of job-changes. Single working women and working wives show stronger willingness to improve their job returns through changing their jobs while working mothers are more conservative and more aware of retaining their job resourses when considering job-changes. It is interpreted that working women with less family responsibility, as indicates by marriage and the presence of children, have more important work role and therefore their job-change decisions are more related to job returns. For those with more family responsibility, job-changes are mostly related to the fitting of family needs.

In the regression on the changes of occupational status and hourly rate of pay, job-change has significant and positive

effects. It indicates the weakness of the Blau-Duncan model in neglecting the labor market process. When the regression is conducted separatively in three marital stages: single working women, working wives, and working mothers, simultaneous change in employer, occupation, and industry has some positive short-term effects for single working women and negative short-term effects for working mothers. These differential effects reflect the motivation of job-change is associated with role expectation in respondents' life-course status. It supports that life-course context is important for understanding the meaning of job-changing behavior and its consequences on occupational achievement.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1. THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

This paper discusses the relationship between early job-changing pattern and the occupational achievement of young women under a life-course perspective. The development of job-changing pattern typologies can be traced back to the research literatures in the 1950s, but their concerns were not so much related to the occupational achievement (Reynolds, 1951; Lipset and Bendix, 1952; Palmer, 1954). It is only recently that a few mobility researchers recognized the importance of the job-changing behavior on occupational mobility (Sorensen, 1974, 1977; Spilerman, 1977; Halaby, 1982).

Under the prevalence of the standard attainment model in the 1960s, the study of the occupational mobility process was reduced to correlation analysis between the first job and current job achievement. The intervening process was totally neglected or simply regarded as unimportant. This model presupposed a static labor market process and treated employees' labor market behavior as a constant. Thus, the explanations on the occupational mobility process were actually devoid of substantial content.

Sorensen (1974) points out that "job shifts represent elementary acts of mobility". Spilermen (1977) reminds us that "occupation is not a life time affiliation, rather individuals of different age can sojourn in it." The life-cycle return from

work is actually a function of a series of shifting among different jobs which constitute the life time career line. Therefore, job-changing behavior is an indispensable element in the occupational mobility process. They argue that job-change is not an automatic adjustment process under the dynamics of market supply and demand. The pattern of change and its consequences depend on the career context under which job-change is taking place. Age, job tenure, seniority, job security, pension rights, and flexibility of work skills are obstacles for job-change and work returns. Moreover, there will be unlikely to have correction on a realized misinvestment on a career line in the later stage of career development.

The motive and consequences of job-change partly depend on the opportunity structure, and partly depend on the personal life context. The decision to have job change may or may not be motivated by the maximization of career returns. It is suspected that the motivation for the same job-changing pattern varies with different life-course stages. Job-changes among the never-married women is motivated by better work returns but to the married women, especially the mothers, job-change is an exchange for family convenience. Therefore, it is expected that the consequences of job-changing pattern also varies under different life-course stages.

Traditionally, there is a clear differentiation on family and work role between male and female. The meaning of work is far more important for men than women. Male is expected to raise

his family through working outside; occupational achievement is an indication of man's ability. On the other hand, women's role is more confined to domestic affairs; she is responsible for keeping the house, preparing dinner for her husband, and caring for her child. The meaning of work to women is rather secondary. Very often, they are regarded as working for 'pin-money'. In some ways, women are 'forced' to accept that they are less competent in the world of work, and have to realise that they have a different destiny from that of men (Patricia and Fred, 1983; Sharpe, 1984).

Nowadays, the economic role of working mother is increasingly important. Female labor becomes a significant portion of the work force. With the expansion of education opportunities for female and the ideology of equality between sexes, female becomes more aware of the career of her own. Yet cultural definition of her role does not change very much. Female labor market participation does not necessarily change the popular belief that they are inferior in doing their jobs. There is stigma attached to those women who are too dedicated to their jobs. To some extent, doing extra work after regular hours is socially unacceptable and they will be labelled as showing masculine traits. Occupational achievement never seems to be a part of feminine traits (Patricia and Fred, 1983).

Working wives and mothers always find themselves in dilemma between work and family. On the one hand, they have the same job pressure and upward mobile motive as their male

counterparts. On the other hand, they are the ones who are ultimately responsible for the time-consuming and tiring household work. Although there is an emerging norm that husbands should share family duties, it is mothers who bear the ultimate responsibility for the everyday welfare of the family, such as feeding, cleaning, clothing, cooking, washing, ironing ... etc. Fathers usually lack initiative to organize these household affairs even if they will help if they are asked. The preoccupation of the working women with their families exhausts their energy in the pursuit of occupational achievement. When women get married, they try to avoid extra responsibility at work and inhibit their career ambition. They would suspend their career if possible, or just shift to some other less demanding jobs. Indeed, it is working hours and locality that take the priority over the nature of job, pay, status, and prospect when making job decision. A convenient job seems to be a compromise between work and family roles, yet the cost is low pay, low status, insecurity, and poor prospects. It is obvious that when work and family responsibility are in conflict, family always comes first for women (Sharpe, 1984). It reflects how our culture defines the role of women, and how deep is this norm in women's consciousness regardless of the growing of modern family ideology. The study of job-change behavior and its consequences may shed light on the effect of family obligations on women's career development.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section, the focus is put on the theoretical development in occupational mobility which relates to the job change behavior. We will also report the major empirical findings related to the topic in the present study. In the last part, we discuss the relevancy of the the life-course perspective in analyzing the job change behavior and its consequences.

Socialization Perspective

In the past two decades, occupational mobility research was dominated by Blau and Duncan's (1967) status attainment model. The Blau-Duncan model basically deals with the occupational status attainment process, in which occupational achievement is an outcome of a socioeconomic cycle: family SES - education - first job - current occupational status. Through path analysis (a methodological innovation of the time), they compared the relative importance between ascribed (family background) and achieved (education) factors on occupational achievement. It is revealed that respondent's education has the most important and direct effects on occupational achievement in comparison to other factors. Family SES affects status achievement mainly through respondent's educational achievement. Thus, it provides empirical evidence that demonstrates the decline of direct intergenerational inheritance and a relatively open class structure in modern democratic and industrial society.

Blau-Duncan model soon receives recognition in social

mobility research and has been treated as a basic model for subsequent research strategy. A large amount of research literature replicates, elaborates and extends this basic model. The most important extension of the basic model is the Winconsin model (Sewell, Haller, and Portes, 1969). Many social psychological variables are introduced into the model, among which respondent's career ambition and the influence of significant others are found to be useful to further delineate the causal linkage from family SES to occupational achievement.

Basically, research efforts following this paradigm emphasize the importance of the pre-labor market experience on occupational achievement. Kerckhoff (1976) characterizes the basic model and its subsequent modification as a socialization model which overemphasize the importance of individual characteristics on occupational achievement. It is naive to assume individuals as absolute free agents who can choose to do any jobs if they are competent to carry out the duty. It is also inadequate to conceive the outcome in occupational achievement solely on the basis of family characteristics and education. He recommends a structural perspective that the labor market imposes constraints on individual mobility process.

Horan (1980) offers a more fundamental exposition and critique on the basic assumption of the Blau-Duncan paradigm. The weakness of the basic model is not in neglecting the labor market process, but in its wrong assumption on the operations of the labor market. The Blau-Duncan model "rests on a

functionalist conception of social structure in which social positions are conceived of as levels of performance, which are differentially evaluated and rewarded within a competitive market situation" (Horan, 1980). That is why the Blau-Duncan model limits its scope on the variables related to individual resources or liabilities on the occupational achievement process. Such a perspective is possible "only if we assume an open, fully competitive market process in which individual characteristics are identified and rewarded according to the societal values can we justify ignoring market (structural) characteristics in the analysis of individual attainment" (Horan, 1980).

In this aspect, Blau-Duncan model shares the basic assumption with the human capital approach. They both assume a neo-classical perfect labor market which is regulated by the supply and demand principle. No employers are willing to pay more than necessary, according to the market price, in order to retain their staff. Employees will also try to maximize their return from their job. Research findings have also pointed out that the majority of job-seekers lack adequate information on the labor market when they search for their first job. Very often, they take the job which they know about (Lipset, Bendix, and Malm, 1955). However, as employees learn more about in the labor market, they will change their job in order to improve their returns from their job. In a long run, the market will reach an equilibrium where individuals are paid according to their qualifications.

Under these perspectives, the meaning of job-changes is an adjustment process in occupational achievement. Job-change is an inevitable outcome of the demand and supply market mechanism, which is not so much related to individual characteristics. Its consequence is the equalization of reward for equal qualification. From an individual perspective, such action will likely bring an increase of reward, otherwise there will not be such action. The larger the discrepancy between qualification and reward, the more likely job-changes will occur.

Labor Market Structure Perspective

In the mid-seventies, American sociologists began to challenge the Blau-Duncan paradigm. At that time, there was convergence in research findings that the basic model is not equally effective when applied to different race and sex population. The blacks are in disadvantage in every stage of the occupational attainment process when compared to the white. Females are inferior in the earnings when compared with males. From 1967 to 1980, it is found that full-time employed female earnings was only 60% of the male. Such discreprancy exists even when all the pre-labor market factors have been controlled (Treiman and Terrell, 1975; Featherman and Hauser, 1976; Roos, 1981; Rosenfeld, 1983). The Blau-duncan model reveals differences among different populations through comparative analysis, yet it is beyond its ability to account for them.

Among the other alternative models, two dominant trends

of labor market limitation on individual occupational mobility will be reviewed below.

(a) The dual labor market theory

The dual labor market theory provides an alternative to explain such systematic sexual differentials in job reward. Theorists in this perspective notice that female employers are concentrated in a very limited range of occupation, such as the service industry and some low-skilled occupations. These occupations are usually low-paid and with poor career prospect. They hypothesize that there is a differential opportunity structure in the labor market. In their own terminology, the labor market is divided into two sectors, namely the primary (core) labor market and the secondary (periphery) labor market.

Within the primary labor market, jobs are organized around the internal labor market where competition for advancement is restricted to a protected few. These employees are characterized in high credential qualification and long term occupational trainings which enable them to perform complicated task. Very often, they occupy the key positions in the production process. Employers are willing to provide high salary and career prospect to these employees in order to retain them in the organization and ensure their commitment and initiative in their jobs.

In contrast, the secondary labor market is made up of low-paid and unskilled jobs. Since these jobs require only low

level of skills, employees are easily replaced. The tasks themselves do not demand high level of commitment and initiation. They allow easy entry and exit for employees. Seniority is a less important asset for future advancement. The flexibile characteristics attract a lot of married women to join the secondary labor market. There is no need for employer to worry about the supply of labor and whether offering attractive working conditions or not.

Researchers under this perspective claim that employee's labor market position explains wage differences net of education, work skill and commitment effect. Obviously, the meanings of job-change under this perspective are not significant in the occupational achievement process. As Rosenfeld (1983) has noted, dual labor market theory presupposes that there is relatively little mobility across labor market boundary, and if it were the case, there will be no reason for the persistence of wage differentials between the two labor markets. Besides, we can expect job-change rate and the degree of change to be more common in the secondary labor market for two reasons. Firstly, skill investment is low among workers in this labor market, thus reduces the cost of change. Secondly, seniority in this sector is less relevant for promotion. Tenure in the current job is not a factor to retain them since their working experience does not count.

From the above, we can find that the dual labor market theory provides a convenient explanation for wage differential

between male and female, but it does have weaknesses. Dual labor market theorists classify the labor market into two different opportunity sectors, still it remains unknown about the exact mechanism in the allocation process. In Rosenfeld's research findings, there are considerable portion of job-changers shift across the sector boundary, which is either defined in terms of sex-typical sectors (male vs. female) or economic sectors (oligopolistic vs. competitive) boundaries. In addition, there is low predictive power from individual characteristics, such as family background, education, work commitment, marital status etc. Perhaps, such a dichotomy of the labor market is too crude to enhance refined studies. In some circumstances, dual labor market theorists classify secondary labor market sector in terms of the concentration of female labors, thus their explanation on wage differential between male and female is somewhat circular. Nevertheless, it does point out that the labor market is never perfect.

(b) The labor market fragmentation perspective

The labor market fragmentation perspective is more sophisticated in examining the constraints from the labor market on individual occupational achievement process. Stolzenberg (1975) notices that labor market tends to be fragmented along occupational lines. This is related to the occupation-specific training investment of the workers in their own occupations. A shift in occupation means a lost in human capital investment, and

starting to work in a new occupation implies less reward. Therefore, workers are less willing to change their jobs even they find that they are in a poor prospective career lines. Spilerman (1977) provides a more elaborated theoretical discussion on this point. He conceptualizes the labor market as a system of career lines (or job trajectories). Career line is a collection of jobs which the sequence of career advancement is prescribed. Different career lines offer different opportunities structures for their employees. Some career lines do provide long career ladder for the committed employees, while others quickly lead to 'dead-end jobs'. From this perspective, the selection of career lines are very important for the later career development. He quotes Sofer's idea that "a realized misinvestment and an attempt to correct it necessitate a new start and a falling behind in competition within our age-graded stratification and mobility structure."

Spilerman employed the six-digit census occupation/industry code to compare between job changers and non-changers among mail carriers, truck drivers, and carpenters from 1965 to 1970. He delineates two dimensions of job changes: occupation changes and industry changes, which together form four types of job-changing patterns. There is a clear pattern that young workers (age 21-30) dominate in the simultaneous changes in occupation and industry categories. On the other hand, the proportion of stayers in occupation and industry categories increase with age. He concludes that young workers are less

bounded by sizable investment on job specific skills and pension programs in their current jobs. While for the older skill investment, seniority in the promotion queue, and pension right inhibit them from switching their jobs. This trend is weak in carpenter's case, for their affiliations are mainly with the craft union rather than specific employers. In contrast, age is important in postal worker job change pattern. For they are entitled to the right of retirement after 30 years of services, and can receive pensions.

This pattern of job change is corroborated with the earning figures. The reward from leaving 1965 jobs varies with age and the job changing patterns. Although some of the young job-changers suffer temporarily from a decrease in income, they benifit most from changing their jobs. In comparison with the younger workers, the older workers depart from the current jobs result in losing life's rewards. This is probably due to the fact that options available for changes vary with age. On the one hand, old workers lack sufficient time to recover the initial income lost associated with job changes. On the other hand, the low market demand for the old worker further hinders the prospect of old job-changers.

There is also a substantial difference in income returns out of various job-changing patterns. In general, simultaneous change in both occupation and industry is especially detrimental to short term income gains. Non-changers in both occupation and industry enjoy a stable income growth. For those who change

occupation without changing industry affiliation have advantages over other types of job changes. This pattern of change may indicate promotion within the same organization. Mail carrier is the exceptional case; job change in any category is not resulted in any income lost (any gain?). This is probably due to the low skill requirement in the job that a shift to other types of jobs does not cause any disadvantage.

From the above research findings, we can conclude that the pattern of job changes is affected by the skill level of the job, the relevancy of seniority in the promotion within the organization, and the transferability of worker's skill to other types of jobs. Regardless of these variations, Spilerman's labor market segmentation perspective emphasizes that internal labor market (intra-organization) mobility is the main source of occupational advancement. This is especially apparent for those who are working in a bureaucratic setting. Therefore, it is not surprising that inter-firm changes decline with time, either measured in terms of age, tenure in current jobs, or working history (Halaby, 1982).

From a developmental point of view, career returns have their own cycle. Regardless variations among different occupations, the earning curve exhibits, in general, a concave downward shape: with a rise in early stage of the career, a plateau through the middle age, and a slight decline in the end of the career cycle (Stolzenberg, 1975; Spilerman, 1977). In order to climb up the mobility ladder, several years of

preparation and commitment to the organization are needed.

In addition, some research findings suggest that age is one of the limitation for promotion. Rosenbaum (1979), for instance, analyses the promotion pattern within a large organization. He finds that there is sharp decline in promotion opportunities with respect to certain age. Young non-management employees have their promotion chance declined after age 35. For the young foremen, their promotion opportunity declines sharply after 29. As for the lower management employees, the chance for promotion drops sharply after 34. It is suggested that promotion chance is a function of age. Rosenbaum concludes that "employee may exhibit ambition and anxiety not merely out of personal ambition to get to the top, but also because an early promotion is the only way to get any promotion at all." In the 'trial period', young workers examine the prospect of time investment in a specific job. This stage of job shopping causes frequent job-changes, and this phenomenon is limited to young workers who are less bounded by specific investment. Once a specific career line is selected, the worker will accumulate job specific resources and wait in the seniority queue for promotion. Job-change in this stage is then less frequent.

Felmlee (1982) compares the same employer shift with different employer shift. Her findings indicate that different factors are responsible for these two different mobility processes. She distinguishes two types of resources, namely general individual resource and job specific resource. The

former one includes education and IQ which indicates general productivity protentials, whereas job tenure is used as proxy for job specific resource. Job tenture indicates the amount of knowledge on the specific production skills and unique organization operation procedures which are essential for effective production. Therefore it also indicates the seniority for promotion.

Research findings support the hypothesis that job-specific resources are important in internal labor market mobility while general resources are influential in different employer shift rate. In addition, current job SES and wage achievement have negative effect on the rate of different employer changes. In general, different employer changers experience a lower job status and wage than the same employer changers. When we compare between two types of job change patterns, same employer changers are found to have a slight benifit over different employer changers in terms of wage, but not in occupational status. The author concludes that the improvement from same employer shift is modest in the comparsion with the male. This is in congruence with Halaby's (1982) research findings. He has compared the job change rate between sexes in a large corporation. The differential of upward mobility rate between male and female is not due to structural factor in availability of opportunities, but ,because of differences in "mobility regime". That is, female labors are in disadvantage position in the exchange process in which their

performances are under-paid.

Rosenfeld (1978, 1980) has reported that women's career profile is relatively flat throughout the whole life cycle. In contrast, men's career profile shows more increases. This marked difference will certainly change the cost structure of various types of job-change behavior. The consequence is worthy of further exploration.

Under this career profile perspective, labor market behavior, specifically job-change, depends on the context of career position. Age limitation on the time span to overcome the inital lost of return from job-change, the tenure of the current job which adds extra cost of seniority, job security, pension rights, and the transferability of work skill which enhances change options and minimizes the cost, are the factors which govern employees' job-change decision. In a nut shell, job-change behavior is conceived as an outcome of the cost-and-benifit calculation which is under the labor market constraints.

There are obvious differences between the socialization model and the labor market fragmentation approach on the meaning of job-change on occupational achievement. The former perspective regards job change as a relative free adjustment process, and its result is likely to bring about favorable return. The latter perspective emphasizes the constraints from labors career investment. The result of job-change depends on

the characteristics of labors' work history, the transferability of work skill, and the long term vs short term reward.

Regardless of these divergences, these two perspectives share a common theme on the role of job-change in the occupational mobility process. Implicit in the socialization perspective, job-change is a maximizing behavior which aims at improving changers' occupational achievement. Economists base this maximizing assumption to analyse wage attainment, and sociologists introduce status as another important dimension in occupational achievement. Although there are many other facets in work, no one will dispute that wage and status are the basic motive for working. The structural approach does not challenge the assumption of the maximizing behavior of the job-changers. Rather, they remind us that there are constraints in the labor market that block the employees from changing their jobs. The result of job-changes depends on a number of factors, such as the transferability of human capital, the importance of seniority, time needed to overcome inital loss, etc. In the present context, the socializationand labor market fragmentation perpectives are regarded as complementary to each other.

Life-Course Perspective On The Labor Market Behavior

Life is a changing process during which the orientation of life will also change according to many ascribed and achieved characteristics, such as sex and occupation. It is not the biological change that interested us, but "the progression

through socially defined, age-linked roles." From the life-course perspective, life-course is "a series of multiple, interlinked roles and transitions" (Bush and Simon, 1981).

Job-change pattern is a very complex phenomenon. Its meanings depend on life context. The socialization perspective neglects the life context under which the job-changing process takes place. Labor market structure perspective puts this phenomenon under the context of career development. The approach taken by thispaper attempts to put it in a much wider context than career -- life development. It is argued herethat if one disregard of the life context of job-change, one would misplace the cultural and contextual meanings of job change. This is especially important in the understanding the labor market behavior of female workers. Work is not the only facet in women's life; there are others like role expectations in various stages of their life-course. Family obligation is one of the most important obstacles in women's work life. Women have to balance between work and family demands. It is the American cultural prescription that a woman's priority should be given to family, not work. In case there are conflicts between the two, it is expected that women should sacrify her career. For married women, their motive for job-changes will be different from those of never-married women. It is hypothesized that marital status will affect the outcome of various job-changing patterns.

The main theme of the life-course approach is on the concept of role, which is one of the core concepts in social

inquiry. Role is a set of cultural expectations which define the appropriateness of behavior. These social definitions have the status of 'social facts' which is external to actors and coercive in nature. Under the life-course perspective, life stages are defined in terms of the roles which guide the social interaction patterns of their occupants. Life-course transitionfrom one stage to another, is a normative phenomenon. Theorists in this perspective emphasize that the transition of life course stages is governed by an age-graded 'social timetable'. In social research, age is often used as an explanatory variable, and its special meaning connotes the corresponding roles which associate with it. Lansing and Kish (1959) make it well:

> It is well known that changes occur in people's attitudes and behavior as they grow older, but many of these changes may be associated less with the biological process of aging than with the influence of age upon the individual's family memberships. Thus, the critical dates in the life of an individual may not be his birthdays so much as the days when a change occurs in his family status, for example, when he marries, or when his first child is born.... To understand an individual's social behavior it may be more relevant to consider which stage in the life cycle he has researched than how old he is.

Age stratifies social roles, but it is social roles that differentiate life-course stages. It is the role rather than the age that provides the context which we can explore the meaning ofan actor's behavior.

Multidimensional concept of life- course is another feature in this approach. In Elder's own word, life-course is "a concept of interdependence career that vary in synchronization."(Elder, 1978a) He reminds us that it is

impossible to understand individual behavior in terms of any single life path, such as a person's work life or marriage. In each life stage, it often involves many roles simultaneously; a working mother is somebody's wife, somebody's mom, factory worker ... etc. These roles place different demands which may be in conflict with each other. Life-course analysis reveals these conflicting situations and lead our attention to its orchestration made by the role occupant.

In many cases, life-course approach resembles family life cycle perspective. They may share similar classification scheme in life-course stages and family life-cycle stages. Yet it is important to give a conceptual distinction between them.

In the family life-cycle approach, individuals have no independent identities. Their behavior is merely treated as the manifestation of family needs. For instance, family life-cycle approach is very successful when applied to explain female labor force participation. This is often interpreted as a response to the financial needs of the family as a whole (Young, 1978; Waite,1980). This approach is conceptually not applicable to occupational mobility studies. Although career development interacts with family context, it links with individual orientation and motivation to a great extent, and has its own autonomous momentum for development. Here, the life-course approach regards an individual to have independent status. Besides the family context,the life-course approach also trace back to the individual's early socialization process and the

achievement motivation in order to understand her labor market behavior.

Hareven (1978) gives a brief but comprehensive description in the life-course approach as follows:

> The life course approach encompasses individual development as well as the collective development of the family unit. It focuses on the meshing of individual careers with the family as it changes over time, and especially on the coordination of several possibly distinct roles in peoples' lives, such as work and family.... three essential features of life-course analysis that are most relevant to historical research: the synchronization of individual with family transitions; the interaction between life-course transitions and historical change; and, ultimately, the cumulative impact of earlier life-course transitions on subsequent ones.

It is not our ambition to put our present analysis on a historical context. We are interested rather in the relationship between work and family and the cumulative impact of the early socialization on subsequent labor market behavior. The formation ofa new family, for instance, is one of the most important life events which will affect the worklife of a woman (Hareven, 1978). Simultaneous life processesemerging over her life course are likely to create conflicts which require her to select priority among them.

Elder (1978: 31) delineates the scheduling dilemma in the life-course management among the dual-career families:

> The peak demands of worklife generally occur during the early phase of career establishment and advancemrnt, a phase which frequently corresponds with the peak demands of childbearing and childrearing. Any decision to sequence the demands of parenthood and occupational cdreer entails both cost and rewards. If children are postponed until the pressures of career advancement have diminished, problems may arise from the difficulty of adapting established routines to the needs of dependents and from the wide age

difference between parent and child. Other costs are encountered in the sacrifice of one partner's career prospects for the advancement of the other, and in the placement of preschool children in day-care centers.

In such dilemma, one of the couple must sacrifice his/her career in order to solve the problem. It is the American cultural prescription that under the legitimation of natural division of labor, a mother should sacrifice her career development. Consequently, job disruption is an usual feature in female career profile.

Sharpe (1984), after interviewing 120 working mothers, concluded that there is no strong relationship between the jobs the women hold before having children and afterwards. Most of her interviewees experience career disruption and only half of them had the same general area of work. Such career characteristics of women are related to the marriage and childrearing. This can be illustrated in a vivid dialogue with her respondent:

> I think before I got married I was more career-minded, like in the GPO I rose to supervisor and I think if I'd not got married I'd be quite high up by now, but when you get married it's very difficult to combine the idea of a career with a husband and once the children come on the scene it's very difficult to combine it with children ...
> -- Fay, part-time cleaner (Shape, 1984:230)

Family responsibility has a negative effect on women's attitude and commitment toward their career development. Consequently, these attitudes are likely to have negative effects on women's occupational achievement.

Faver (1981) shows that women's attitude towards their career development varies with life-course stages. Career

achievement orientation are high among young unmarried women or married women with older children. Women in the life stage which demands intensive family care are likely to set their career development aside. This fact illustrates that women are not born for household work by their intrinsic nature. Rather, their need in career actualization is simply suppressed under the family responsibility constraints. Tinsley and Faunce (1980) identified the factors which could best differentiate the career group and the homemaker orientation groups. They found that family characteristics were the most important ones when compared to human capital characteristics and attitudinal attributes.

On the behavior level, family role demand may lead to (1) the withdrawal from the labor market regardless of their own preference; (2) temporary leave of absence from the present job; (3) reduction of working time; and (4) impediment to their desire on career achievement. In short, many women are unable to obtain maximum achievement out of their ability. They may sacrify wage and status when choosing among different alternatives in exchange for familial convenience (Hudis, 1976).

It is an well-known fact that women frequently withdraw from the labor market in the stage when their children are at pre-school age. Husbands' occupational achievements tend to have an inverse effect on wives' labor market activities. In general, educational attainment raises the rate of female labor force participation, but has a negative impact on labor market activities in the childrearing stage (Young, 1978; Waite, 1980).

This is probably due to the high value placed on the development of their children.

That mothers working at this stage does not imply that they are less affected by family responsibility. Many of them are working for instrumental reason rather than for the sake of self-actualization. Parents usually experience a shortage of fund as their children begin growing up. Mothers are always in the position of no choice but to take up the work role in order to maintain the standard of living. Yet, their economic role is regarded as secondary and merely for the sake of subsidizing family needs. Household responsibility is always the prime concern among working wives and mothers. Therefore, maximization of work returns is of secondary consideration.

Following the above line of thinking, it is expected that occupational achievement varies in different life-course stages. Hudis (1976) tests the hypothesis that married women receive lower job rewards than never-married women. His findings include: (1) never-married women have greater work commitment (working time) than married women; (2) never-married women achieve higher occupational status; (3) never-married women have higher annual income; (4) the returns for years of education is higher for never-married women than married women; (5) the presence of children under age six reduces mothers' work commitment; and (6) child-status characteristics reduce women's earnings.

Based on these findings, he infers that the disadvantages

of married women, especially those with children, are the consequences of familial responsibilities which reduce their job commitments and restrict their occupational choices. Since the indicators of achievement used are annual income instead of the rate of pay, it is not clear whether these consequences are the results from short working hour or restricted choice of their jobs.

In summary, the attention on the relationship between the job-changing behavior and the occupational achievement is a recent phenomenon. The Blau-Duncan paradigm has a very important contribution on the linkage between the pre-labor market experience and occupational mobility, but it totally disregards the importance of the labor market proecss on occupational achievement. The labor market fragmentation perspective, on the other hand, considers these two things under a career context. This perspective presupposes the maximizing nature of the job-changing behavior. It neglects the non-career consideration of the employees. In addition, the labor market fragmentation perspective fails to recognize the differences between sexes in labor market process. The fact that women are less-equipped with work skills and the less important of seniority in the intra-organization promotion would change their frame of reference and affect their labor market behavior and its consequences. The life-course perspective has a very successful application on female labor force participation behavior, but has

insufficient attention on the occupational mobility process. It is the interest of this paper to identify the relationship between various job-changing behaviors and the occupational achievements of the young woman labor force under the life-course perspective.

CHAPTER TWO: METHOD AND MODEL SPECIFICATION

1. METHOD

The purpose of this paper is twofold. First, to identify the context and factors related to different types of job-changing pattern. Second, to find out the consequences of various job-changing patterns. Corresponding to this purpose, the analysis is divided into two stages.

In the first stage, the study object is the job-changing pattern. It includes two parts. First, to identify the characteristics between job changers and non-changers. Second, to search for the factors which affect the job change behavior. The dependent variable is the job-changing pattern which is in nominal level measurement. Multiple regression analysis which bases on the ordinary least square is inappropiate in the present analysis for it will produce biased and inconsistent estimates. Moreover, the predicted values may lie outside the value range of the dependent variable, thus produce problems in the interpretation (Hanushek and Jackson, 1977).

In chapter four, we compare the difference between group means on a wide range background variables of the job changers and non-changers. In addition, a stepwise discriminant analysis is used to compare the relative importance among a number of individual characteristics. These methods provide descriptive measures on the characteristics of different types of job-changers.

A logit model is applied to analyze the factors which affect the probability of the occurence of a specific type of job-changing pattern. It is designed for the analysis of dictomous dependent variable. Logit model is the member of the log-linear model which has been used for the decomposition of the log-frequencies into additive components. Instead of fitting the log-frequences in the contingency table, the odd between the categories of the dependent nominal variable in the model is estimated (Payne, 1970; Reynolds, 1977). The major problem in the logit analysis is model selection. There are a variety of models that fit the data. In order to facilitate interpretation, we specify the model according to the previous research evidence from the socialization and labor market perspectives rather than merely aim at maximizing the goodness of fit.

In the second stage analysis, the focus is on the consequences of various job-changing patterns in terms of the change in occupational status and the rate of pay. The dependent variables are interval data, therefore multiple regression is used. The analysis is mainly concerned with whether there are differences in the outcomes of various job-changing patterns. It is suspected that the consequences of job-change is related to the causes of such change. Therefore, the variables used in analysing job-change behavior are also included in the regression.

In addition to methods mentioned above, we also perform a principle component factor analysis to simplify the variable

structure. Compared with the common factor analysis, the principle component method analyzes the 'complete' correlation matrix, with is in the diagonal. Principle component analysis does not distinguish between common and unique factors; the total variance in each variable is included in the analysis (Lindeman, Merenda, and Gold; 1980). A varimax rotation method is used to arrange the factor loadings in such a way that each factor extracted from the variables are independent of other factors. This characteristic has advantage over the oblique rotation method when the factor scores are used for subsequent analysis. It also helps to reduce the problem of multicollinearity in the regression analysis, thus we can obtain a more reliable estimate of the parameters which are the basis for the comparison of the relative importance of the parameters in the equation.

2. MODEL SPECIFICATION

There are two models which deal with two subject matters: (1) the factors affecting job-changing pattern and (2) the consequences of job-changing pattern on the occupational acheivement.

(a) The logit model

The logit model is used to analyse the factors which affect the relative chance of each type of job-changing patterns. In the logit model, the dependent variable is the reduced form of job-changing pattern: MMM (changes in 3 job aspects), MIX (changes in 1 or 2 job aspects), SSS (no change in any job aspects). The SSS category is used as the contrast categories, that is, the dependent variables are the occurrence of MMM relative to SSS (hereafter, the MMM logit model) and the occurrence of MIX relative to SSS (hereafter, the MIX logit model).

In the MMM and MIX model, the occurence of various job-changing pattern is considered as a function of three factors: OCCACH (the occupational achievement of the jobs in 1968), INERTIA (job inertia), and ED68 (educational achievement in 1968). In our models, all the estimated log odd-ratios are converted back to odd-ratios. The form of the logit model is as follow:

$$(MMMijk/SSSijk) = (JCP)(OCCACHi)(INERTIAj)(ED68k)$$

$$(MIXijk/SSSijk) = (JCP)(OCCACHi)(INERTIAj)(ED68k)$$

OCCACH, INERTIA, and ED68 are recoded into dichotomous variables with only 'high' and 'low' categories. The 'high' category is used as the basis of comparison. Therefore, the odd-ratios in the logit model should be interpreted as a comparsion of two ratios: the 'low' OCCACH (INERTIA, ED68) in MMM (MIX) rather than in SSS and the 'high' OCCACH (INERTIA, ED68) in MMM (MIX) rather than SSS.

According to the Blau-Duncan and the human capital approaches, job-change is an automatic process in which the under-paid workers will adjust their job rewards (wage and status) through changing their jobs. It is expected that low OCCACH group has a higher chance of occurrence in MMM (or MIX) than the high OCCACH group. The initiation from the deprived workers to change their jobs is an important supposition in the operation of the labor market mechanism in a meritocratic society. Therefore, OCCACH is supposed to have the most important effect in the logit model. The labor market fragmentation perspective emphasizes that high INERTIA is a personal resource in the intra-organization promotion. Job-change for those with high INERTIA always implies a waste of the long-term acquired seniority, job-specific skills and pension right. Therefore, it is a limitation factor for any form of job-changes. High INERTIA should decrease the likelihood of MMM and MIX job-changing pattern. It is supposed that INERTIA has

the second important effect in the logit model.

Education is a general form of human captial. From the labor market structure approach, we can infer that low education group should have less job attachment for two reasons: (1) human capital is not a barrier in the cross-occupation and -industry changes and (2) seniority is a less improtant factor for promotion in their labor market sector (secondary labor market). Therefore, low education will increase the chance of MMM and MIX job changing pattern relative to the SSS's. We expect that education is the least important element in the logit model for it is less directly related to the rational calculation of the protential job-changers.

Two controlling factors are introduced into the model; it is conducted separately between white and non-white and among three marital stages. From the life-course perspective, marital stages should have a modification on the motivation underlying each type of job-changing behavior. Family responsibility increases as working women launch through the following marital stages: single (never-married with no child), wife (married with no child), and mother (married with children). Working mothers have the heaviest family responsibility including taking care of their husbands and children. Single working women are free from such responsibility. The working wives are in between of the two.

The heavier the family responsibility, in terms ot marriage and parenthood, the more apparent the family role

demand. As family responsibility increase, job rewards become secondary when working women are making decision to have job-change. In other words, they have less incentive to change their jobs in order to reduce their deprivation in occupational achievement. They have stronger incentive to maintain status quo when they have valuable job resources such as seniority, job-specific skill, and pension right. On the other hand, workers with low family responsibility will be more actively seeking better job rewards. The separation of the three marital stage in the logit model should help to show these two different trends.

(b) The Multiple Regression Model

The multiple regression model is used to analyse the amount of change in occupational achievement within two periods of time. The dependent variables in this model are the change of hourly rate of pay and the occupational status (Duncan Index). The periods of study include 1968 to 1970 and 1968 to 1975 which indicate the short-term changes and long-term changes. All the regressions are done separately for the white and non-white women.

In the first stage analysis, seven independent variables are included in the regression model: (1) OCCACH, (2) INERTIA, (3) ED68, (4) FAMRESP, (5) FAMSES, (6) MMM, and (7) MIX. The OCCACH, INERTIA, FAMRESP, and FAMSES are factors created through factor analysis. ED68 is the number of years of education the

respondents acheived. Job-changing pattern is transformed into two dummy variables: MIX and MMM. If respondents have one or two aspects of job-changes, then are coded as 1 in MIX, other values in this job-changing pattern are coded as 0. If respondents have three aspects of job-changes, then are coded as 1 in MMM, others are coded as 0.

It is expected that OCCACH should have a negative effect because it sets the limit for further improvement. INERTIA means working experience, seniority, and job-skill training which should have positive effect on the occupational achievement. ED68 is a general form human captial which should have a moderate and positive effect. FAMRESP is the life stage transition variable which indicates the increase of family responsibility when the respondents get married and have children. It is expected that FAMRESP should have a negative effect on the occupational achievement. FAMSES indicates intergeneration mobility; it is expected that it has a very small and positive effect on the occupational achievement. In the consideration of age and sex character of our sample, it is found that MMM and MIX job-changing patterns are associated with greater improvement in the occupational achievement. Therefore it is believed that the dummy variables should have a positive effect and the effect of MMM should be greater than that of MIX. The purpose of this analysis is to examine whether life-course transition and job-changing behavior have any explanatory value in accounting for the process of occupational mobility process.

In the second stage of analysis, the basic form of the model is similar to the first stage analysis, except that FAMRESP is excluded from the list of independent variables. Instead, three stages of life-courses are used for controlling purpose, that means the regression analysis is done under three subgroups, namely, single without child, married without child, and married with children. It is expected that MMM and MIX variables should have different performance in these three sets of equations. It is expected that family responsibility will affect the motivations of job-changes. In the single without child cases, the MMM and the MIX should have a clear positive effect; in the married without child ones, the MMM and the MIX effect would be less clear; in the married with children ones, the MMM and MIX should show a clear and negative effect.

CHAPTER THREE: VARIABLES AND DATA

1. VARIABLES

The dependent variables in the first stage of the analysis are the three aspects of job change: employer change, occupation change, and industry change. The definition of job change is based on the comparison of the 1968 and 1970 jobs. Employer change is based on information of the respondents' firms in 1968 and 1970. Occupation and industry changes are defined in terms of changes in their respective 1-digit codes according to the U.S. Census Bureau. When we combine these three aspects of change, we obtain eight categories of job-changing pattern : SSS, SMS, SSM, SMM, MSS, MSM, MMS, and MMM ('S' stands for stay, 'M' stands for move; and the three capital letters represent in order whether there was a change in employer, occupation, and industry). For example, SMS means the respondent stays with the same employer by 1970, but her occupation has changed although her industry remained the same.

The dependent variables in the second stage of analysis are the differences in the hourly rate of pay and occupational status (Duncan Index) between 1968 and 1975. The 1968 to 1970 differences represent the immediate consequences of job change; the 1968 to 1975 differences represent the long term effects of job change.

The independent variables in the analysis include:

FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS

FOCC14 : Father's occupation status (Duncan Index) when respondentwas at the age of 14. Interval measurement with values range from 3 to 96.

MOCC14 : Mother's occupation status (Duncan Index) when respondent was at the age of 14. Interval measurement with values range from 5 to 84.

FED : Father's education. Interval measurement with values range from 0 to 18.

MED : Mother's education. Interval measurement with values range from 0 to 18.

NSIB : Number of siblings. Interval measurement with values range from 0 to 15.

RACE : Nominal measurement with white code 1; non-white code 0.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

AGE68 : Respondent's age in 1968. Interval measurement with values range from 14 to 26.

IQ : Respondent's I.Q. score. Interval measurement with values range from 46 to 158.

CULEXP : Cultural exposure. Nominal measurement: if newspaper, magazine, and library card are available when respondent was at the age of 14, the code is 1; if any of the above was not available, the code is 0.

KWORK69 : Knowledge of world of work in 1969. Recode from 10 questions on the knowledge of 10 jobs. 1 mark represents 1 correct answer of the ten questions. Interval measurement with values range from 0 to 10.

ATTWK : Respondent's attitude toward women working. Recode from 3 questions on attitude toward women working : (1) if necessary, (2) if she desires and husband agrees, and (3) if she desires and husband disagrees. Low scores if respondent feels that women working is definately all right; high scores means definately not all right. Ordinal measurement with values range from 3 to 15.

ATTED : Respondent's attitude toward her high school experience. Low score means like it very much; high score means dislike it very much. Ordinal measurement with values range from 1 to 4.

WORK EXPERIENCE:

FJOBDI : First job status (Duncan Index). Interval measurement with values range from 2 to 84.

OCCDI68 : Respondent's occupational status (Duncan Index) in 1968 job. Interval measurement with values

range from 1 to 85.

HPAY68 : Hourly rate of pay in 1968. Interval measurement with values range from 0.25 to 8.75.

TJOB68 : Tenure of the 1968 job. Interval measurement with values range from 1 to 156 months.

WORKHIST : The duration of respondent's first job to the 1968 interview. Interval measurement with values range from 0.08 to 12.6 years.

MARITAL STATUS:

MRBF68 : Respondent marital status. Nominal measurement with married code 1; never-married code 0.

LENMR : The duration of respondent's first marriage to the 1968 interview. Interval measurement with values range from 0 to 10 years.

NCHILD : Number of children respondent has in 1968. Interval measurement with values range from 0 to 6.

NIDCHILD : Ideal children size. Interval measurement with values range from 0 to 12.

OTHERS:

DEMAND : The average of the demand index of female labor force in 1968 and 1969. Interval measurement with values range from 20 to 41.

MOVE : Change of residence. Nominal measurement with change of residence code 1; no change code 0.

All these items are used in the test of difference (t-test) between job changers and non-changers. The variable structure is simplified by employing the principle component factor analysis and six factors are extracted from 15 variables, as shown in Table 2.

In our analysis, only the first four factors are utilized. They both have meaningful interpretation and with eigenvalues higher than 1.3. Factor 1 represents the respondent's family SES (FAMSES). The factor loadings of father's occupational status, father's and mother's educational achievement range from 0.74 to 0.85. Factor 2 indicates the level of the respondent's family responsibilities (FAMRESP).

Table 1. Varimax Rotated Factor Matrix

VARIABLE	FACTOR1	FACTOR2	FACTOR3	FACTOR4
FED	0.85	-0.07	-0.03	-0.00
MED	0.79	-0.06	0.08	-0.00
FOCCDI	0.74	-0.03	0.13	-0.01
NCHILD	-0.11	0.88	-0.10	-0.04
LENMR	-0.05	0.87	0.09	0.14
HPAY68	-0.00	0.07	0.82	0.08
OCCDI68	0.17	0.08	0.80	-0.08
JOBT	-0.03	-0.05	-0.03	0.83
WORKHIST	-0.04	0.38	-0.02	0.74
OCCTRAIN	0.10	-0.14	0.19	0.29
ATTED	0.03	0.06	-0.01	0.04
NIDCHILD	-0.10	0.10	-0.31	0.02
ATTJOB68	-0.03	0.00	-0.30	-0.03
ATTWORK	0.03	-0.22	0.03	0.14
DEMAND	0.05	0.15	0.04	-0.20
EIGENVALUE	2.38	1.76	1.39	1.30
PERCENTAGE OF VARIANCE	15.9	11.7	9.3	8.7

Table 2. Factor Correlation Matrix Under an Oblique Rotation

	FACTOR1	FACTOR2	FACTOR3	FACTOR4
FACTOR1	1.00			
FACTOR2	-0.15	1.00		
FACTOR3	-0.20	0.07	1.00	
FACTOR4	-0.01	-0.00	-0.07	1.00

Number of children and the length of marriage have loadings of 0.88 and 0.87. Factor 3 is the respondent's 1968 job achievement (OCCACH). The hourly rate of pay and occupational status have loadings of 0.82 and 0.80 on this factor. As for facor 4, it mainly composes of loadings from job tenure, work history, and the length of occupation training, with factor loadings vary from 0.29 to 0.83. Since these three variables have negative effects to job change, we interprete them as an indication of job inertia (INERTIA).

The factors are extracted through the varimax rotation that each factor is independent of other factors extracted. In addition to the advantage of a simplified variable structure, this characteristic helps to reduce the problem of multicollinearity which causes troubles in the interpretation of regression coefficients. But it has the risk of distorting the reality where the factors should be correlated. Table 2 shows the factor correlation matrix which is created through an oblique rotation method. Fortunately, the correlation among these four factors is very low. The highest correlation is -0.2 between factor 1 (FAMSES) and factor 3 (OCCACH). Four factor score will therefore be created on the basis of varimax rotation and are used in the subsequent analyses.

2. DATA

The data for this paper come from the National Longitudinal Survey (NLS) of the Labor Market Experience of Young Women (14 to 24 years of age at the time of the first survey). The project is conducted by the U.S. Bureau of Census for the Ohio State University Center for Human Resource Research under a contract with the U.S. Department of Labor. The objective of NLS is to understand the labor market experience of the American laborers. In addition to the group of young women, the NLS included three other population groups: young men (14 to 24 years old); middle-aged women (30 to 44 years old); and older man (45 to 59 years old).

The young women (14 to 24 years old) of the NLS was a representative national probability sample of the noninstitutionalised civilian population of the United States. The sample is drawn from 235 Primary Sampling Units. The initial sample size was 5195. Personal interviewswere conducted from 1968 to 1973 annually from January to March. An additional telephone survey was conducted in 1975.

The respondents of this sample were just in a life-course transition period from the school to employment. The research interest of this paper is on the early working experience of female labor. Only 2460 women were selected for analysis on the criterion that they had joined the labor force by 1968. Among the 2460 young women, 1969 of them were white and 691 non-white.

The NLS Young Women data set contains rich information on

the work history of the respondents, from the first job to 1975. The specification of jobs are detailed enough to employ the occupation and industry coding of the census. Hourly rates of payment and job statusderived as the Duncan index were also included. Useful information such as those about social origins (parental education and occupational status), human capital (respondent's education and occupational training), social-psychological attributes (attitudes towards women labor force participation, 1968 jobs, and high school experience), family context (marital status and number of children), and environmental factors (market demands on female labor) provide rich materials for explaining the labor market behavior of the young women. Table 3 shows the mean and standard deviation of the selected variables.

Since the NLS is a longitudinal survey, it reduces the memory biases of the respondents about their job-changing history. The job-change information in our analysis is based on reliable reports in 1968 and 1970 interviews on job characteristics, whereas the changes of occupational achievement are based on annual interviews from 1968 to 1975. Although there is no replacement of new respondents in order to adjust the sample attrition in subsequent surveys, the attrition rate in the NLS Young Women is smallenough (only 14% over 5-year period) that the survey is planned to extend another five years from 1973 (Parnes, 1979).

Table 3. Mean and Standard Deviation of the Independent variables

VARIABLE	ALL GROUP		WHITE		NON-WHITE	
	MEAN	SD	MEAN	SD	MEAN	SD
FAMILY BACKGROUND						
FOCC14	32.08	23.52	36.66	23.37	20.38	14.24
MOCC14	28.39	21.94	30.76	12.43	22.32	12.74
FED	10.12	3.63	10.57	3.04	8.95	2.94
MED	10.44	3.02	10.87	2.73	9.33	2.87
NSIB	3.49	2.57	2.94	2.16	4.91	2.97
PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS						
AGE68	19.67	2.84	19.67	2.87	19.68	2.79
IQ	102.40	14.54	105.51	13.16	91.37	13.82
KWORK69	7.56	2.06	8.05	1.69	6.32	2.37
ATTWK	8.37	2.65	8.63	2.66	7.70	2.47
ATTED	0.54	0.50	0.52	0.50	0.59	0.49
HUMAN CAPITAL						
ED68	11.47	2.11	11.66	2.08	10.99	2.11
OCCTRAIN	1.16	1.78	1.17	1.41	1.12	1.47
WORK CONDITIONS						
ATT68JOB	1.55	0.77	1.53	0.57	1.60	0.57
FJOBDI	36.68	20.55	39.10	15.60	30.51	16.19
OCCDI68	34.28	21.18	36.47	20.91	28.71	18.95
HPAY68	1.66	0.76	1.69	0.72	1.58	0.60
TJOB68(M.)	17.17	19.43	18.18	19.15	14.59	14.37
WORKHIST(Yr.)	2.73	2.17	2.74	1.68	2.70	1.66
MARITAL CHARACTERISTICS						
AGEFMR	18.79	2.04	18.94	2.04	18.35	1.98
LEMMR	0.94	1.81	0.94	1.78	0.93	1.87
NCHILD	0.35	0.78	0.23	0.60	0.64	1.06
MIDCHILD	2.75	1.09	2.67	0.95	2.95	1.15
OTHERS						
DEMAND	31.94	3.41	31.81	3.20	32.28	3.35

CHAPTER FOUR: JOB-CHANGING PATTERN

1. The Context of Present Study

The present study focuses on the job-change pattern of the female workers' between 1968 to 1970. A brief review on the development of the female labor force and the interim American economy would enhance the understanding of their job change behavior.

During the past few decades, there has been a steady growth of female participation in the labor market. They constitute a significant portion of the total labor force. In 1968, the female labor force constitutes 35.5% of the U.S. labor force. Women workers represent 40.7% of all females over 16 years old. In comparison, women labor force was only 25.2% of the total labor force in 1940, and only 27.4% of all females were over 14 years old (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1975: 132).

Working women play a significant role in the American economy. In 1968, there were 39.1% of married women joining the labor force. In contrast, only 16.7% of the married women participated in the labor market in 1940 (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1975: 133). Having achieved an independent work status does not necessarily imply that the demand of the family role on women becomes any less. It is believed that women in different marital stages experience varying degree of constraints, which affect their labor market behavior.

Table 4. Average Annual Growth Rates of Gross National Product (Percent): 1960 to 1970

YEAR	60-61	61-62	62-63	63-64	64-65	65-66	66-67	67-68	68-69	69-70
RATE	2.0	6.6	4.0	5.5	6.3	6.5	2.6	4.7	2.6	-0.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial times to 1970: Part 1, Pp. 226-7 Washington, D.C., 1975.

Table 5. Unemployment Rate for Selected Groups in the Labor Force: 1961 to 1970 (Per Thousand)

YEAR	TOTAL	DURATION (WEEKS)	MEN OVER 20	WOMEN OVER 20
1961	6.7	15.6	5.7	6.3
1962	5.5	14.7	4.6	5.4
1963	5.7	14.0	4.5	5.4
1964	5.2	13.3	3.9	5.2
1965	4.5	11.8	3.2	4.5
1966	3.8	10.4	2.5	3.8
1967	3.8	8.8	2.3	4.2
1968	3.6	8.5	2.2	3.8
1969	3.5	8.0	2.1	3.7
1970	4.9	8.8	3.5	4.8

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial times to 1970: Part 1, Pp. 135 Washington, D.C., 1975.

Job-change is one form of labor market behavior which partly depends on a women's life context and partly on the economic context. As indicated in Table 4, after a period of prosperity from 1961 to 1965, the U.S. economy fluctuated from 1965 to 1968. Then it began entering into a period of recession. In 1968, it showed a low GNP growth. From 1969 to 1970, it experienced a negative GNP growth rate, which may affect the labor market behavior of female labor.

With reference to the unemployment rate, Table 5 shows that it responded in a slower pace to the whole economic situation. There was a steady drop in the unemployment rate from 1961 to 1969, and a slight increase in 1970. Female labors experienced the lowest unemployment rate in 1968 and 1969, which indicates full employment among the female workers. These two years coincide with the study period of this paper.

2. Job-changing Patterns

Based on the NLS sample, it is found that considerable job mobility took place among the young working women. More than 80% of the respondents experienced job changes either in terms of employer change, occupation change, industry change, or various combinations of these (Table 7). Table 6 shows that employer change (77%) is the most frequent type of change, next is the occupation change (42%) and the industry change (45%).

That employer change was the most prevalent form of change is expected. Among all three types of change, employer

Table 6. Types Of Job Changes

JOB CHANGE	EMPLOYER	OCCUPATION	INDUSTRY
CHANGER	1632	879	924
	(0.77)	(0.42)	(0.45)
NON-CHANGER	481	1196	1126
	(0.23)	(0.58)	(0.55)

Table 7. Job-changing Pattern

JOB-CHANGING PATTERN	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
SSS	374	19.2
SSM	21	1.1
SMS	60	3.1
SMM	8	0.4
MSS	477	24.5
MSM	233	12.0
MMS	162	8.3
MMM	610	31.4
	1945	100.0

change requires the minimum adjustment. Employees may continue to apply their working skill and their knowledge in the production process in other firms. Adaptation to the new environment will not be a difficult task. It is therefore the most convenient way to adjust personal needs. Moreover, change either in occupation or industry is always associated with employer change. The definition of job change in occupation and industry may be responsible for this. Change in occupation and industry is defined in terms of the shift in the 1-digit level census code. It indicates a substantial change in job characteristics. Occupation and industry changes are likely accompanied with employer changes.

Among the eight types of job-change pattern in Table 7, the most frequent types are: simultaneous employer, occupation, and industry change (31.4%); only employer change (24.5%); and no change in either dimensions (19.2%). The high portion of simultaneous change in all three aspects of job characteristics is a bit higher than our expectations. A simultaneous change simply means the starting of a new career line which involves considérable costs: lost of job skill, seniority in the promotion queue, and pension right (Spilerman, 1977). Such phenomenon may be age- and sex-specific. Young workers are usually less-equipped with job specific skills, and of short employment history. The mean age of our respondents is below, 20 and they have less than three years of working experience. In addition, the promotion chance for female labor are much less than their

male counterparts within the same firm. Seniority is then a less important cost for job changes among female labors (Halaby, 1979). It is also believed that women who acquire low level skills will not hinder their mobility across different types of jobs. Besides, the female labor force demand was also favorable for job-change during our study period.

3. Backgrounds Of the Job-changers and Non-changers

From Table 8 to Table 10, six dimensions are used to compare the job changers and the non-changers. They are family background, personal characteristics, human capital, work conditions, marital characteristics, and the residual items.

The most impressive difference between job changers and non-changers is found in the category of work condition. All variables show significant differences. There is a consistent trend that non-changers have a higher status in their first job, current job, and higher hourly rate of pay. In addition, non-changers have a longer work history and job tenure in 1968. There are also differences between job changers and non-changers in marital characteristics. Non-changers include a higher proportion of married women and a smaller average number of children.

As for the category of family background, most of the items show no significant difference. With the exception of industry change, changers and non-changers tend to have no significant difference in their parents' education and

Table 8. Difference Between Employer Changers And Non-changers

VARIABLES	EMPLOYMER CHANGE		
	STAYER	MOVER	DIFFERENCE
FAMILY BACKGROUND			
FOCC14	33.40	32.23	N.S.
MOCC14	29.48	28.70	N.S.
FED	9.85	10.24	N.S.
MED	10.34	10.52	N.S.
NSIB	3.14	3.55	-0.41**
RACE(WHITE)	0.79	0.72	0.07**
PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS			
AGE68	21.03	19.33	1.70**
IQ	103.20	102.87	N.S.
CULEXP	0.53	0.53	N.S.
KWORK69	7.95	7.57	0.38**
ATTWK	8.49	8.31	N.S.
ATTED	1.51	1.58	N.S.
HUMAN CAPITAL			
ED68	12.21	11.34	0.87**
OCCTRAIN	1.23	1.17	N.S.
WORK CONDITIONS			
FJOBDI	40.35	35.81	4.54**
OCCDI68	41.46	32.51	8.95**
HPAY68	2.03	1.54	0.49**
TJOB68	23.30	15.23	8.07**
WORKHIST	3.11	2.56	0.55**
ATT68JOB	0.69	0.52	0.17**
MARITAL CHARACTERISTICS			
MRBF68	0.38	0.31	0.07*
AGEFMR	19.14	18.71	0.43*
LENMR	3.08	2.75	N.S.
NCHILD (MARRIED)	0.67	0.85	-0.18*
NIDCHILD	2.76	2.73	N.S.
OTHERS			
DEMAND	31.80	31.92	N.S.
MOVE	0.30	0.44	0.14**

* $p < 0.05$
** $p < 0.01$

Table 9. Difference Between Occupation Changers And Non-changers

VARIABLES	OCCUPATION CHANGE		
	STAYER	MOVER	DIFFERENCE
FAMILY BACKGROUND			
FOCC14	32.88	31.04	N.S.
MOCC14	29.42	28.30	N.S.
FED	10.16	10.23	N.S.
MED	10.43	10.53	N.S.
NSIB	3.35	3.61	-0.26*
RACE	0.75	0.71	0.04**
PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS			
AGE68	20.30	18.96	1.34**
IQ	103.24	102.09	N.S.
CULEXP	0.52	0.55	N.S.
KWORK69	7.74	7.50	0.24**
ATTWK	8.38	8.27	N.S.
ATTED	1.53	1.60	N.S.
HUMAN CAPITAL			
ED68	11.80	11.16	0.64**
OCCTRAIN	1.19	1.11	N.S.
WORK CONDITIONS			
FJOBDI	39.44	31.00	8.44**
OCCDI68	38.75	27.74	11.01**
HPAY68	1.81	1.41	0.40**
TJOB68	18.06	15.90	2.16*
WORKHIST	2.83	2.59	N.S.
ATT68JOB	0.61	0.49	0.12**
MARITAL CHARACTERISTICS			
MRBF68	0.39	0.27	0.12**
AGEFMR	19.02	18.32	0.70**
LENMR	2.86	2.71	N.S.
NCHILD (MARRIED)	0.73	0.96	-0.23*
NIDCHILD	2.74	2.74	N.S.
OTHERS			
DEMAND	31.80	31.92	N.S.
MOVE	0.40	0.43	N.S.

* $p < 0.05$
** $p < 0.01$

Table 10. Difference Between Industry Changers And Non-changers

VARIABLES	INDUSTRY CHANGE		
	STAYER	MOVER	DIFFERENCE
FAMILY BACKGROUND			
FOCC14	33.48	30.28	3.20**
MOCC14	30.85	26.84	4.01*
FED	10.16	10.19	N.S.
MED	10.40	10.45	N.S.
NSIB	3.34	3.57	-0.23*
RACE(WHITE)	0.77	0.69	0.08**
PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS			
AGE68	20.34	18.96	1.38**
IQ	103.27	101.94	N.S.
CULEXP	0.54	0.53	N.S.
KWORK69	7.66	7.59	N.S.
ATTWK	8.31	8.32	N.S.
ATTED	1.55	1.59	N.S.
HUMAN CAPITAL			
ED68	11.78	11.21	0.57**
OCCTRAIN	1.10	1.20	N.S.
WORK CONDITIONS			
FJOBDI	37.70	34.76	2.94*
OCCDI68	36.44	31.05	5.39**
HPAY68	1.80	1.44	0.36**
TJOB68	18.57	15.17	3.40**
WORKHIST	2.90	2.45	0.45**
ATT68JOB	0.60	0.50	0.10**
MARITAL CHARACTERISTICS			
MRBF68	0.39	0.27	0.12**
AGEFMR	19.08	18.29	0.79**
LENMR	2.90	2.63	N.S.
NCHILD (MARRIED)	0.73	0.93	-0.20*
NIDCHILD	2.75	2.72	N.S.
OTHERS			
DEMAND	31.80	32.01	N.S.
MOVE	0.39	0.44	-0.05*

* $p < 0.05$
** $p < 0.01$

occupational status when the respondents were at the age of 14. But a significant difference is found in terms of respondents' sibling size. Non-changers in all three types of change have a smaller sibling size. Difference also appears in the race composition. There is a higher proportion of white within the non-changers' group than in the changer's group.

Among personal characteristics, differences are not found between changers and non-changers in IQ, cultural exposure, attitude towards women work, and attitude towards high school experience. But there are differences in their age and their knowledge about the labor market. Job changers are of a younger age-group and have less information about the labor market than the non-changers.

In the last category, there is no difference in local female labor demands of the changers and non-changers. And in the employer change and industry change aspects, job changers are more likely to experience the change of their residence.

To summarize, the social origins of the groups are of little difference. In contrast, most items in the current work situations and marital characteristics categories show differences between the two groups. The non-changers are the 'higher-achievement' group in terms of their education, occupational status, and the rate of pay. The shorter work history and tenure of the job-changes at the jobs in 1968 indicate that they are in an 'exploratory stage' of career development, and are therefore less settled down.

To further explore the difference between job changers and non-changers, this paper uses the discriminant analysis in order to weigh the relative importance of variables in distinguishing different job-change groups.

In our discriminant analysis, we use four factor scores: FAMSES (family SES), OCCACH (occupational achievement), INERTIA (job inertia), and FAMRESP (family responsibility) as discriminants. In addition, ATTWORK (respondents' attitude toward women working) is also included. A Wilks stepwise method is employed to select variables into the discriminant function that maximizes the differences between groups and minimizes the differences within group.

Table 12 shows the discriminant function which distinguishes between employer changers and non-changers. For the whites, occupational achievement (0.87), job inertia (0.51), and family SES (-0.15) are significant variables in the equation. As for the non-whites, the significant variables included are occupational achievement (0.74), job inertia (0.62), family responsibility (0.37), and family SES (-0.17). A positive sign in the discriminant function equation indicates that the higher one's occupational achievement and job inertia, the more likely will one be classified as non-changer. The negative sign implies that the higher one's family SES , the lower chance will one be classified as a non-changer. In the present case, the discriminant functions for whites and non-whites are similar.

In the same table, the discriminant function on

Table 11. Correlation Matrix

	FAMSES	FAMRESP	OCCACH	INERTIA	ATTWORK
FAMSES	1.00				
FAMRESP	0.15	1.00			
OCCACH	0.19	-0.03	1.00		
INERTIA	0.01	-0.01	0.06	1.00	
ATTWORK	0.00	-0.23	-0.03	0.16	1.00

FAMSES : Family SES
FAMRESP : Family Responsibility
OCCACH : Occupational Achievement
INERTIA : Job Inertia
ATTWORK : Attitude Toward Women Working

Table 12. Stepwise Discrimination Function Between Job changers and Non-changer By Types of Job-change By Race (Standardize coefficient)

VARIABLE	EMPLOYER CHANGE		OCCUPATION CHANGE		INDUSTRY CHANGE	
	WHITE	NON-WHITE	WHITE	NON-WHITE	WHITE	NON-WHITE
OCCACH	0.87	0.74	0.96	0.88	0.88	0.57
INERTIA	0.51	0.62	0.12	0.22	0.45	--
FAMRESP	--	0.37	0.19	0.50	0.22	0.88
FAMSES	-0.15	-0.17	--	--	--	-0.34
ATTWORK	--	--	0.17	-0.22	--	--
GROUP CENTROID:						
CHANGER	-0.19	-0.14	-0.40	-0.28	-0.29	-0.17
NON-CHANGER	0.58	0.63	0.27	0.24	0.21	0.19
SIGNIFICANCE:	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0006
HIT-RATIO:	76.2%	81.5%	65.6%	62.7%	60.4%	58.3%
HIT-RATIO TO CHANCE:	1.21	1.17	1.27	1.25	1.00	1.16
MIN. TOLERANCE	0.98	0.91	0.90	0.95	0.93	0.98
N	1557	556	1517	558	1496	554

FAMSES : Family SES
FAMRESP : Family Responsibility
OCCACH : Occupational achievement
INERTIA : Job Inertia
ATTWORK : Attitude Toward Women Working

occupation change is similar to the that on employer change. For the whites, occupational achievement (0.96) continues to be the most important variable in the equation. It has a landslide domination in the whole equation. Compared with occupational achievement, family responsibility (0.19), the second important variable, has only a mild discriminant power. For the non-whites, the order of importance of the first two variables is identical, but the second one shows a substantial effect (0.5). In addition to this difference, the attitude toward women working is positive for the whites but negative for the non-whites.

As for job change in industry, the discriminant function for the whites is similar to the previous equations. The order of importance as shown in Table 12 is: occupational achievement (0.88), job inertia (0.45), and family responsibility (0.22). But for the non-whites, different pattern emerges with family responsibility (0.88) being the most important discriminant, then comes the occupational achievement (0.57), and then family SES (-0.34).

A review of the six discriminant functions discussed so far leads us to conclude that factors associated with changes in employer, occupation, and industry share similar characteristics. The effect of occupational achievement is more dominant in the white than the non-white, but it is discriminant for both of them. Job inertia is the second important discriminant for white while job inertia and family responsibility are equal important for the non-white. On the whole, the discriminant functions in

Table 12 do not show an efficient classification of our respondents. Regardless of the fact that all of the equations are significant, none of them have improved more than 30% in correct classifications in comparison with guess by chance. It implies that the differences between job changers and non-changers in terms of the five variables included are moderate.

In Table 13, we apply discriminant analysis to the six categories of the job-changing pattern and have found that the discriminant functions have improved more than 70% correct classifications in comparison with guess by chance. Again, these two equations are significant and, as in Table 12, there is only a small variation in the order of importance among the independent variables. While occupational achievement and job inertia remain as the most important ones, there is a reverse in position between family SES and family responsibility ,and the attitude variable is excluded in both functions.

With regard to the group centroids in the six categories of job changes, the greatest group distance is between simultaneous employer, occupation, and industry changers (MMM) and non-changers in all three aspects (SSS) in the white group. In the non-white cases, the group distance between MMM and SSS is less remarkable, but the distance is also substantial in comparison with other pairs of categories. It indicates that there exists a rather great difference between the two extreme forms of job-changing pattern.

Table 13. Stepwise Discrimination Function Among Different Job-changing Patterns (Standardize Coefficient)

VARIABLE	WHITE	NON-WHITE
OCCACH	0.96	0.88
INERTIA	0.29	0.51
FAMRESP	0.06	0.10
FAMSES	-0.11	0.04
ATTWORK	--	--
GROUP CENTROID: SSS	0.51	0.36
SSM/SMS/SMM	0.45	0.76
MSS	0.05	-0.14
MSM	0.37	0.45
MMS	-0.20	0.00
MMM	-0.45	-0.32
SIGNIFICANCE:	0.0000	0.0000
HIT-RATIO:	37.1%	40.8%
HIT-RATIO TO CHANCE:	1.72	1.73
MIN. TOLERANCE	0.93	0.96
N	1435	510

FAMSES : Family SES
FAMRESP : Family Responsibility
OCCACH : Occupational achievement
INERTIA : Job Inertia
ATTWORK : Attitude Toward Women Working

4. The Causes of Job-changes

In a series of comparisons (T test) between job-changers and non-changers and discriminant analysis, we have some discriptive informations on the differences between job-changers and non-changers; job-changers are usually lower in occupational achievement (OCCACH) and job inertia (INERTIA). These two factors are consistent with the discussions of the socialization and the labor market structure perspectives on the job-changing behavior. Since discriminant analysis can only provide background characteristics between job changers and non-changers, we do not have a clear idea on whether OCCACH and INERTIA are responsible for the different types of job-changing patterns. We therefore use the logit model as a tool for modelling the job-changing behavior.

The logit model is used to explain two types of odds: MMM vs. SSS (MMM logit model) and MIX vs. SSS (MIX logit model). The independent variables include the occupational achievement (OCCACH), job inertia (INERTIA), and educational achievement (ED68). All the them are recoded into dichotomous variables. OCCACH is hypothesized as a factor affecting job-changing pattern because of an active self-correction of achievement deprivation; INERTIA is supposed to affect the job-changing behavior because of a passive tendency to minimize the lost of job returns; ED68 indicates the level of job attachment due to the opportunity of developing an orderly career. This logit model attempts to model a kind of job-change behavior which is guided by a rational

motivation under the restriction from the labor market.

The analysis is conducted separately for whites and non-whites. In each racial category, we distinguish three marital status groups: never-married without child, married without child, and mother. These three life-course stages show a transition from low family responsibility to that of a high one, and it is expected to have effects on the motivation of job-changes.

(a) Single Working Women (Never-married With No Child)

Among the white, OCCACH, INERTIA, and ED68 have significant effects in the MMM logit model (Table 14). The odd-ratios are: 2.47 (OCCACH), 1.68 (INERTIA), and 1.70 (ED68). That means the low OCCACH group has more chance (2.47 to 1) in MMM job-changing pattern relative to SSS than the high OCCACH group; the low INERTIA group has more chance (1.68 to 1) in MMM's relative to SSS's than high INERTIA group; and low ED68 group also has more chance (1.70 to 1) in MMM's relative to SSS's than the high ED68 group. The direction of effects are predicted in the socialization and the labor market structure perspective. In addition, the OCCACH is the most important factor which indicates that deprivation in job rewards is the major reason for job-change. INERTIA and ED68 have a substantial and similar level of importance in the MMM logit model.

In Table 15, these three variable also have significant effects in the MIX model. The odd-ratios are: 1.38 (OCCACH),

Table 14. The Odd-ratios of the Job-changing Model
By Marital Status By Race (MMM vs. SSS)

VARIABLE	WHITE			NON-WHITE		
	SINGLE	WIFE	MOTHER	SINGLE	WIFE	MOTHER
JCP	2.66**	3.69*	3.33**	3.18**	1.41	1.43
JCP BY OCCACH	2.47**	5.48**	3.37**	1.52*	1.58	1.75
JCP BY INERTIA	1.68**	1.34	2.47**	0.98	3.03	3.61**
JCP BY ED68	1.70**	1.85	1.67	1.79**	1.78	2.57*
LIKELIHOOD RATIO: P=	0.142	0.808	0.706	0.257	0.044	0.261
N	470	111	83	149	18	55

* $p < 0.05$
** $p < 0.01$

Legend: JCP: Job-changing Pattern with MMM vs SSS.
MMM means change in all three aspects of jobs;
SSS means no change in any aspect of jobs.
OCCACH: Occupational achievement.
INERTIA: Job inertia.
ED68: Educational achievement in 1968.

Table 15. The Odd-ratios of the Job-changing Model By Marital Status By Race (MIX vs. SSS)

VARIABLE	WHITE			NON-WHITE		
	SINGLE	WIFE	MOTHER	SINGLE	WIFE	MOTHER
JCP	3.22**	5.31**	5.65**	3.22**	4.00*	2.46**
JCP BY OCCACH	1.38*	2.95*	1.63	0.88	0.86	1.34
JCP BY INERTIA	1.27*	2.20	1.94**	1.46	0.96	1.78*
JCP BY ED68	1.45*	0.85	1.29	1.35	1.85	1.19
LIKELIHOOD RATIO: P=	0.198	0.513	0.705	0.115	0.019	0.359
N	567	220	142	158	24	70

* $p < 0.05$
** $p < 0.01$

Legend: JCP: Job-changing Pattern with MMM vs SSS.
MIX means change in one or two aspects of jobs;
SSS means no change in any aspect of jobs.
OCCACH: Occupational achievement.
INERTIA: Job inertia.
ED68: Educational achievement in 1968.

1.27 (INERTIA), and 1.45 (ED68). The direction of effects follow the above trend which indicates that low OCCACH, low INERTIA, and low ED68 have a higher probability in MMM job-changing pattern. The magnitude of the effects are small, and the level of magnitude among the three variables are similar with ED68 slightly higher than OCCACH and OCCACH slightly higher than INERTIA.

For the non-white, OCCACH and ED68 have significant effect in the MMM logit model (Table 14). The odd-ratios are: 1.52 (OCCACH) and 1.79 (ED68). The direction of effects in these two variables also follow our expectation which low OCCACH and low ED68 have more chance in MMM job-changing pattern. Difference between OCCACH and ED68 is small of which the latter slightly higher than the former. The lack of significant effect in INERTIA may be due to the fact that the labor market does not offer the non-white an orderly career development, therefore, the job inertia do not have the expected effect to retain employer to stay behind. As to the MIX logit model (Table 15), no independent variable shows a significant effect.

In general, OCCACH has more important effect than INERTIA in our logit model. It supports the assumption of the the socialization model in that employers tend to adjust their job reward through job-changes. But it does not mean that the labor market restrictions in the transfer of individual work resource is unimportant in limiting the job-change possibility. These two factors seem to have more important effect in the white than the

non-white. It is suspected that some non-works factor that affect the job-change behavior of the non-white have not been incorporated in the model.

(b) Working Wives (Married With No Child)

In the MMM model, Table 14, OCCACH is the only item that has significant effect among the white working wives. The odd-ratio is 5.48 which means that the low OCCACH group has 5.48 to 1 chance in MMM job-changing pattern (relative to SSS's) when compared with the high OCCACH group. The model has a high level goodness of fit ($p=0.808$); that means the estimates of the model approximate the reality. In Table 15, the MIX model exhabits the same pattern; OCCACH is the only significant independent variable in the logit model with an odd-ratio 2.95. It indicates that low OCCACH group still has a higher chance in the MMM job-changing pattern than the high OCCACH group. The model fits the data reasonably well ($p=0.513$) with which we have confidence on the estimates of the model. As for the non-white, both the MMM and MIX logit models have a very poor goodness of fit that we do not attempts to interpret the estimated odd-ratios.

The overwhelming effect of the OCCACH lend support to the socialization perspective that deprivated employers are more likely to seek alternatives through changes their jobs. Such motive is so strong that the restriction from labor market is not able to affect the likelihood of the job-change. It is speculated that women in this marrital stage are badly off for

resources which are essential for their family expansion, therefore, they are more sensitive to offers in other jobs. In addition, they are free from the burden of child care that further facilitates them to seek for better alternatives. But to the non-white, both the MMM and MIX models fail to explain their job-changing behavior. This may due to the fact that the job-changing behavior is less guided by the rational factors in the present model. The socialization and labor market perspectives do not apply in this case.

(c) Working Mothers (Married With Children)

Among the white working mothers (Table 14) OCCACH and INERTIA have significant effects in the MMM logit model. The odd-ratios are: 3.37 (OCCACH) and 2.47 (INERTIA). The direction of effect also follow our expectations; low OCCACH and low INERTIA groups have more chance in the MMM job-changing pattern than the high OCCACH and high INERTIA groups. In addition, OCCACH has a more important effect than INERTIA; that means deprivation in job rewards is the main reason for job-changes. But the effect of INERTIA is quite considerable. The model has a high level goodness of fit (p=0.706) which means the estimates in the model approximate the reality.

In the MIX model, INERTIA is the only significant variable (Table 15). The odd-ratio is 1.94 which is consistent with the expected direction. The model also has a high level goodness of fit (p=0.705) which indicates the estimates are

reliable. It is worthy to note that OCCACH has no significant effect in the job-changing pattern. It suggests that the white working mothers do not response to their deprivation in job reward by restructuring their career opportunity. Instead, they are more aware of protecting their existing work resource such as seniority, job-specific skill, and pension right.

To the non-white (Table 14), INERTIA and ED68 have significant effect in the MMM logit model. The odd-ratios are: 3.61 (INERTIA) and 2.57 (ED68). The direction of effect also follow our expectation; low INERTIA and low ED68 groups have more chance in MMM job-changing pattern than the high INERTIA and high ED68 groups. The lack of effect in OCCACH and the dominating effect in INERTIA suggest that non-white working mothers are conservative when considering job-change. In the MIX model (Table 15), INERTIA is the only significant independent variable with an odd-ratio 1.78. This tendency further support the idea that non-white working mothers are more conscious to protect their work resource than actively seeking improvement of their job rewards.

In most of the cases, INERTIA has a dominant effect among the working mothers. In contrast, OCCACH has no significant effect in three out of four cases. The labor market perspective seems to be more appliciable than the socialization in this life-course stage.

In short, four features related to the cause of

job-change can be summarized as follow:

(1) Judging from the direction of effect among the independent variables in the logit model, we have confidence to conclude that the socialization and the labor market perspectives are correct; they have correctly predicted that low OCCACH, low INERTIA, and low ED68 groups are associated with a higher probability in MMM/MIX job-changing pattern.

(2) The applicability of the socialization and the labor market perspectives vary with marital stages. The socialization perspective is more relevant in explaining the job-changing tendancy among single working women and working wives while the labor market perspective is more able to explain the job-change rate among working mothers.

(3) The job-changing pattern of the white fits better in our rational job-changing model than the non-white. That means the job-changing pattern of the white is more affected by the cost and benefit calculation in job rewards when they consider job-changes. For the non-white, it is suspected that some other non-work elements affect their job-change decisions. There is evidence in the previous stepwise discriminant analysis, Table 12 and Table 13, that family responsibility (FAMRESP) is more related to job-change for the non-white than the white.

(4) In general, the MMM logit model have a better goodness of fit than the MIX logit model. Moreover, the magnitude of the odd-ratios in the MMM logit model is greater than that in the MIX logit model. MMM job-changing pattern is a

complete shift in career line, and it will cost more effort of the job-changers to adjust for the new working environment. Therefore, the MMM job-changing pattern is more likely an outcome of a careful calculation. In constrast, MIX job-changing pattern maintain one or two aspects of job ties, and it requires a less amount of adjustment. We expect that the MIX job-changing pattern is more affected by the random factors not included in the model. As a result, the contrast between MMM and SSS is greater than that between MIX and SSS and the rational job-change model is more applicable to the former case. The stepwise discriminant analysis in Table 13 also shows that the difference between MMM and SSS is one of the greatest among several pairs of job-changing pattern. It is reasonable that the explanatory power in the MMM logit model is greater than the MIX logit model.

5. Marital Stages and Work Strategy

Role expections varies with life-course stages; the importance of work role declines as working women began to take up their family responsibility. It is expected that the shift of preoccupations in different marital stages would affect the underlying motivations in the job-changing behavior. Single working women are least affected by family responsibility; they are free from taking care of husbands and children. In this life-course stage, they enjoy a relatively independent economic role. They should be more aware of their career prospects than the women of the other two marital stages. We expected that

their labor market behavior is more related to the improvement of the career rewards. The motivation for job-changes should be more related to their job achievement needs.

The work role of the working wives is less important than the single working women. Besides taking care of the daily lives of their husbands, working wives need to adjust their career development in order to facilitate their husbands' career advancement. Job-changes, then, are not necessarily related to job rewards. On the other hand, they are very much concerned with establishing a firm foundation for their future family expansion that they will be more responsive to better offers in other jobs. Therefore, it is expected that the relationship between their job-changing behavior and job rewards is still considerable.

Working mothers are mostly constrained by family responsibility among these three marital stages, people seldom treat working mothers' work role seriously. The social defination of their preoccupations is confined to household work, such as taking care of their husbands and their children. When there are conflict between the work role and the family role, the latter alway has priority. It is expected that working mothers' labor market behavior is more related to family needs rather than their occupational achievement need. Without exception, their job-changing decision would be less concerned with ,job rewards than the women in the other two marital stages. In addition, we expected that the labor market opportunities for the working

mother is more restricted because their family burden. They should exhabit a more conservative attitude toward their existing work resources, such as seniority, job-specific skills and pension right. Such conservative tendency should be reflected in their job-changing behavior.

In our job-change logit model, we have included two different types of rational calculations when respondents are making job-change decisions. The first reward maximizing strategy is the attempt to reconstruct the career opportunities through changing their jobs when respondents regarded their job rewards as undesirable. Such maximizing strategy is more aggressive in nature because it involves a high degree of uncertainty on the prospect of the new job. In addition, job-changers need time to acquire new job-skill and seniority in order to climb up the career ladder. In this study, OCCACH in the job-changing logit model is treated as a proxy for this aggressive job-change motivation. It is believed that low OCCACH group is more likely to cause job-change because they are seeking for better alternatives.

The second reward maximizing strategy is more conservative in nature; it aims at retaining the existing work resources rather than seeking for other risky alternatives. Seniority, organization-specific knowledge, job-specific skills and pension privilege are valuable resouces for a stable career development. When workers give important weight to these factors in their job-change decisions, they are attempting to minimize

risk. INERTIA, which represents work history, tenure in the 1968 jobs, and occupational training in this study, is considered as an indicator for such passive maximizing behavior.

(a) Aggressive Strategy

In this study, we interpret the effect of OCCACH as an indication of the motivation to improve occupation achievement through job-changes. It is expected that this tendency is more important for those with lower family responsibility than those with higher family responsibility.

Among the white in the MOM logit model, Table 14, the relative strength of OCCACH between working wives and working mothers are 5.48 and 3.37 respectively. That means working mothers have less initiative than the working wives in taking action (job-change) to improve their low level of job rewards. It fulfils our expectation that the lower level of family responsibility is associated with greater aggressive tendency in job-change motivations. In the case of single working women, the odd-ratio of the OCCACH is only 2.47. Contrary to our expection, its magnitude ranks after working wives and working mothers. Single working woman only have a moderate response to the deprivations in their current jobs.

In the MIX logit model, Table 15, the effect of OCCACH is not significant among the working mothers; their job-change motivation is not related to job rewards. Compared with the other two marital stages, working mothers have the lowest

aggressive tendency in their job-change decision. This pattern also consistent with our expectations But when single working women are compared with working wives, the former have lower OCCACH effect than the latter, their odd-ratios are 1.38 and 2.95 respectively. It violates our expectations.

In general, it is obvious that the underlying motive for job-changes is less aggressive among the working mothers. The low aggressive tendency of the single working women is unexpected. Spitze and Waite (1980) analyze the same data set, and they concluded that young women who have a strong taste of work tend to start with low rewarded jobs which have a better prospect. It is suggested that white single working women have a stronger taste of market work which leads them to have higher weigh on long-term rewards and more tolerate to the current deprivations. In Chapter Five, there is evidence that job-changes for the white single working women are likely lead to long-term rather than short-term benefit (Table 21 and Table 23). With the exception of the single working women, findings among the white support the hypothesis that the aggressive tendency in the job-change motive is negatively associated with family responsibility.

For the non-white, only the models of the single working women and the working mothers are significant; we only compare the job-change motivation between these two groups. In the MMM logit model, the odd-ratio of OCCACH for the single working women is 1.52 while the odd-ratio for the working mothers is not

significant. Working mothers have no initiative in seeking improvement because of deprivation in occupational achievement. As for the single working women, they have small but significant tendency to change their jobs because of low job rewards. This supports the idea that workers with lower family responsibility have a more aggressive tendency to seek for better alternatives through changing their jobs. In the MIX model, both the OCCACH odd-ratios for the single working women and working mothers are not significant. It neither supports nor rejects our hypothesis.

Regardless the counter evidence from the white single working women, we have some evidences that those with lower family responsibility are more likely to have job-change in order to correct their deprivation in job rewards. We interpret this reconstruction of career opportunities as an expression of aggressive strategy which aim at maximizing the career returns through changing their jobs.

(b) Conservative Strategy

The attempt to reconstruct career opportunities in order to correct job reward deprivation is not the only form of rational labor market behavior. The conservative work strategy is another form of rational labor market behavior which aims at retaining the benefit from the existing work resources and minimizing risk in job-change decision. INERTIA in our logit model represents job resources, such as work experience, seniority, and occupational training, which will reduce the

tendency to change jobs. When worker have more job resources which can help them to stablize job rewards, they are less likely to take the risk of changing their jobs in exchange for an unknown opportunity. This factor which affects the job-change decision is regarded as an indication of the conservative work strategy. High family responsibility are more likely to cause two extreme responses to job resource. It tends to promote job change in order to fit their family needs if INERTIA is low, which means the opportunity cost is also low. On the other hand, they are less likely than other to change their job when INERTIA is high, because they are more restricted in their opportunities due to their family burden. For these reasons, INERTIA effect is more important for those with higher family responsibility.

In the MNM logit model among the white working women, Table 14, it is within our expectation that the working mothers have a significant and highest INERTIA effect with an odd-ratio of 2.47 when compared with the other two marital stages. It indicates that working mothers adopted the most conservative strategy. As for the other two groups, single working women has a small the significant INERTIA effect with an odd-ratio of 1.68 while there is no significant effect for the working wives. This contradicts with our expectations. It is suspected that single working women have a higher INERTIA effect than the working wives because they are working in a more orderly career line which keeps them from changing their jobs by offering them long-term benefit. In the MIX logit model, the INERTIA effect shows the

same ranking order among the three marital stages as in the MMM logit model. Working mothers is most conservative in their job-change behavior with an odd-ratio of 1.94 in the INERTIA effect. INERTIA has a significant odd-ratio of 1.27 among single working women, but it has no significant effect among the working wives. The difference between them is small, and we follow the same interpretation as in the MMM logit model.

For the non-white, the MMM and MIX logit models on working wives are not significant, so our comparison of the conservative tendency is limited to single working women and working mothers. In the MMM logit model, working mother also have the most conservative tendency with an odd-ratio of 3.61 in INERTIA. However, the odd-ratio of INERTIA is not significant among single working women. These figures clearly demonstrate that higher family responsibility is associated with the conservative tendency in the job-change decision. In the MIX logit model, the effect of INERTIA repeats the same pattern in the MMM logit model. The odd-ratio of INERTIA is 1.78 among the working mothers while no significant effect among the single working wives. This pattern of relationship further lends support to our hypothesis.

In conclusions, working mothers have the highest odd-ratio in INERTIA among the three marital stages, regardless of race and the types of job-change. It suggests ,that working mother are most conservative in their job-change behavior. There is only one counter evidence in that INERTIA effect among the

white single working women is a bit higher than the white working wives. In other cases, there are evidences to support the hypothesis that higher family responsibility are likely to cause a more conservative job-change strategy.

6. Marital Stages and the Job-change Rate

The constraints of marriage and parenthood on women may be manifest directly in some types of their labor market behaviors and less directly for others. For instance, labor force participation reflects the the life-course position and its corresponding family responsibility of women. It is quite different for the job-changing behavior, a working mother may or may not change her job for the same reason -- adjusting the family needs. We have outlined the factors affecting the job-changing pattern and the maximizing strategies in different marital stages. To conclude this chapter, we use these informations to discuss the job-change rate in each of these marital stages. It is expected that the effect of family responsibility on the job-change rate will be manifested in some specific situations

We identify two situations which may help to reveal the effect of family responsibility on job-change rate. (1) The low constraint situation is defined in terms of low OCCACH, low INERTIA, and low ED68. This situation induces job-changes for the cost involved is very low. Under this situation, women with heavy family responsibility are more temptable for job-change in

order to fulfil family needs. (2) The high constraint situation is defined in terms of high OCCACH, high INERTIA, and high ED68. Under this situation, job-change is discourage for the high risk and cost involved.

In Table 16, the general trend is that the job-change rate is much higher in low constraint situation than the high constraint situation. The odds between MMM and SSS job-changing pattern varies from 8.2 to 49.0, and the odds between MIX and SSS range from 5.6 to 22.8 in the low constraint situation. As to the high constraint situation, the odds between MMM and SSS range from 0.1 to 1.2, and for MIX and SSS, the odds range from 0.9 to 2.0. This pattern simply reflects the effect of OCCACH, INERTIA, and ED68.

There is a positive association between job-change rate and family responsibility when the constrain for job-change is low. However, the association between them is negative when the it is a high constraint situation. This pattern is true for the two types of odds, MMM : SSS and MIX : SSS, and for white and non-white. These two contradictory associations between family responsibility and job-change rate is worthy for consideration. For those with family responsibility, two factors affect their job-change decision: family needs and the work opportunities. When the cost for job-change is low, i.e. in the low constraint situation, working mothers are more willing to change their jobs in order to adjust for family needs. On the other hand, the

Table 16. The Expected (Observed) Odds Between MMM/MIX and SSS By Marital Status By Race

CONSTRAINT	WHITE			NON-WHITE	
	SINGLE	WIFE	MOTHER	SINGLE	MOTHER
MMM:SSS					
LOW CONSTRAINT	18.8	49.0	45.2	8.2	23.4
	(9.5)	(---)	(---)	(11.5)	(---)
HIGH CONSTRAINT	0.4	0.3	0.2	1.2	0.1
	(0.4)	(0.3)	(0.3)	(1.0)	(0.0)
MIX:SSS					
LOW CONSTRAINT	8.2	14.4	22.8	5.6	7.0
	(11.5)	(---)	(---)	(6.3)	(15.0)
HIGH CONSTRAINT	1.3	2.0	1.4	1.9	0.9
	(1.4)	(2.0)	(1.5)	(1.7)	(0.8)

'---' indicates an infinitive with 0 in its denominator, which means the frequence in SSS is 0 in that category.

opportunities for better rewards decline more quickly for those with heavier family responsibility. Therefore, they are less willing to change their jobs when the cost and risk is high.

These two contradictory tendencies indicate that the effect of family responsibility is not directly reflected in the job-change rate. We have repeatedly state that family responsibility may cause change or non-change for the same reason. When the situation for job change is specified, the effect becomes apparent.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONSEQUENCES OF DIFFERENT JOB-CHANGING PATTERNS

The most straight forward interpretation of the job-change behavior is that job changes are primarily motivated by the rewards resulting from with it. In Table 17 and Table 18, the amount of changes in the hourly rate of pay and occupational status are compared among workers undergoing three types of job-change: no change (SSS), change in one or two aspects (MIX), and change in all three aspects (MMM). With regard to the rate of pay, white workers who have changed their jobs simultaneously in all three aspects (employer, occupation, industry: MMM) have the greatest improvement. This pattern persists throughout the periods of time under our investigation. From 1968 to 1970, the MMM job-changers have an increase of hourly pay by $0.15 ($0.63-$0.48) more than the SSS workers. In 1975, the MMM's continues to have an increase of $0.42 ($2.09-$1.67) more than the SSS's. All the differences are statistically significant. As for the non-whites, those who change their jobs but with at least one aspect of job continuation (MIX) have the best improvement in their rate of pay. Except the 1968 to 1970 period, MMM's experience the least growth in job payment. But the differences are not significant.

In terms of the changes in occupational status, the whites and the non-whites show a common pattern in the improvement of the occupational status (as measured by the Duncan Index). The MMM's has the greatest growth, then come the MIX's,

Table 17. Income Change By Year By Race (With F Test from ANOVA)

YEAR	WHITE				NON-WHITE			
	SSS	MIX	MMM	SIG.	SSS	MIX	MMM	SIG.
68-70	0.48	0.45	0.63	0.00	0.44	0.46	0.49	0.85
68-71	0.79	0.82	0.98	0.02	0.69	0.81	0.66	0.23
68-72	1.00	1.05	1.26	0.00	0.97	1.05	0.89	0.31
68-73	1.13	1.28	1.54	0.00	1.18	1.27	1.04	0.11
68-75	1.67	1.81	2.09	0.00	1.80	2.06	1.54	0.02

Table 18. Status Change By Year By Race (With F Test from ANOVA)

YEAR	WHITE				NON-WHITE			
	SSS	MIX	MMM	SIG.	SSS	MIX	MMM	SIG.
68-70	0.44	1.42	9.85	0.00	0.10	1.96	0.10	0.00
68-71	0.24	3.44	12.22	0.00	1.75	2.49	8.33	0.00
68-72	0.79	4.20	13.22	0.00	3.27	3.73	10.64	0.00
68-73	1.43	4.90	13.71	0.00	3.01	3.51	11.76	0.00
68-75	2.00	6.62	14.99	0.00	4.31	4.26	13.91	0.00

and SSS's experience the least growth. This pattern persists in both short-term and long-term changes in occupational status. All the differences are statistically significant.

To some extent, it is unexpected that the above pattern of changes in job rewards associates with the three types of job-changing patterns. According to the labor market fragmentation perspective, MMM represents a new start of career lines which implies lost in work skills and seniority in the organization. This type of change will lead to the sufferings in their job rewards. It needs a considerable length of time to overcome this initial cost. In contrast, data in Table 17 to Table 18 show that MMM's lead to both short-term and long-term improvement in job rewards. There are two possible explanations which are complementary to each other. Female workers are less invested in their human capitals, such as job specific skills which require several years of training. This is especially true for the young workers. Therefore, the cost involved in job change will be less important for them. On the other hand, seniority is less crucial for female than male workers in intra-organizational mobility. As a result, they are less attached to any specific jobs; their labor market behavior are more sensitive to better job rewards offered in the labor market. It is not strange to find job-change is highly associated with improvement in job rewards. The labor fragmentation approach has insufficient attention on the characteristics of the women labor force which shows a unique labor market behavior.

1. Factors Affecting the Changes of Occupational Achievement

Table 17 and Table 18 show that the MMM's job-changing pattern and MIX's did have advantages over the SSS's yet the relation may be spurious due to the influence of other factors. In the following multiple regression model, several variables which are suspected to affect the change of the occupational achievement are included: occupational achievement in 1968 jobs (OCCACH), job inertia (INERTIA), family responsibility (FAMRESP), educational achievement (ED68), family SES (FAMSES), and job-changing pattern (MMM,MIX).

It is intended to let these variables enter into the regression model in the above order. The order of entry is based on two criteria: (1) temporal close to the current job should enter first because they should be more responsible for the subsequent occupational changes and (2) the nature of the variable which is more related to the occupational aspects also has the priority. OCCACH and INERTIA are both temporal close and more related to subsequent occupational changes, therefore they are entered into the list first. FAMRESP, ED68, and FAMSES are entered, in terms of their temporal order. MMM and MIX are the last two items in the equation. It is the purpose of this regression model to test whether job-changing patterns have any effect on the changes of occupational achievement. Therefore, we let all the other variables explain the amount of change in occupational achievement, and see whether MMM and MIX can further reduce the residual variance left by the previous independent

variables. The dependent variables for this regression model are: PAY6870 and PAY6875 (which represent the changes of the hourly rate of pay in the years of 1968 to 1970 and 1968 to 1975), and DI6870 and DI6875 (which represent the changes of the occupational status in the years of 1968 to 1970 and 1968 to 1975 as measured by the Duncan Index). The change in 1968 to 1970 represents the short-term change and the change in 1968 to 1975 represents the long-term one.

Among the white working women (Table 19), MMM's has a significant and positive effect in three of the regression equations: PAY6875 (0.12), DI6870 (0.13), and DI6875 (0.08), in which it ranks as the third important effect in the equations while MIX's has no significant effects. It partially supports the trend of achievement changes in Table 17 and Table 18. Among the standardize betas of the FAMRESP which shows negative effect in all equations, two of them are significant: PAY6870 (-0.11) and DI6875 (-0.05). It supports that the occupational achievement varies with different life-course stages: the increase of family responsibility (as measured in terms of marriage and the presence of children) negatively affect the long-term occupational improvement.

In general, OCCACH has the most important effect in the equations (from -0.14 to -0.48). The negative effect probably due to the ceiling effect that better alternatives diminish for the high achievement workers while there is more chance for

Table 19. Regression On the Change of Occupational Achievement (White)

VARIABLE	PAY6870	PAY6875	DI6870	DI6875
OCCACH	-0.33**	-0.14**	-0.40**	-0.48**
INERTIA	0.04	0.10**	0.09**	0.07**
FAMRESP	-0.04	-0.11**	-0.03	-0.05*
ED68	0.32**	0.21**	0.21**	0.11**
FAMSES	0.05	0.10**	0.01	0.09**
MMM	0.03	0.12**	0.13**	0.08*
MIX	-0.04	0.05	-0.00	0.04
MULTIPLE R	0.32	0.29	0.40	0.49
R SQUARE	0.10	0.08	0.16	0.24
SIGNIFICANCE	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
MIN. TOLERANCE	0.51	0.50	0.50	0.50
N	1116	825	1435	1263

* $p < 0.05$
** $p < 0.01$

Table 20. Regression On the Change of Occupational Achievement (Non-white)

VARIABLE	PAY6870	PAY6875	DI6870	DI6875
OCCACH	-0.31**	-0.09	-0.38**	-0.34**
INERTIA	0.01	0.03	0.09*	0.18**
FAMRESP	-0.11*	-0.14*	-0.09*	-0.13**
ED68	0.26**	0.19**	0.19**	0.12*
FAMSES	0.15**	0.10	-0.02	0.05
MMM	-0.04	-0.10	0.16*	0.12
MIX	-0.02	0.06	0.04	-0.02
MULTIPLE R	0.35	0.29	0.39	0.41
R SQUARE	0.12	0.09	0.15	0.17
SIGNIFICANCE	0.0000	0.0005	0.0000	0.0000
MIN. TOLERANCE	0.49	0.45	0.44	0.41
N	376	296	510	430

* $p < 0.05$
** $p < 0.01$

the low achievement workers to improve their job returns. As expected, INERTIA has positive effects (from 0.07 to 0.01) on the improvement of the occupational achievement. Higher job inertia means longer working experience, higher seniority, and more job trainings, therefore its effects are positive. Education is the second important factor in all the four regressions (0.11 to 0.32). Its importance is a bit higher than our expectation. Our dependent variables are the changes of occupational returns. It implicitly controls the educational effect in the initial job placement. It is worthy to note that educational effect goes beyond the initial placement in the occupational hierarchy. Social origins measured in terms of family SES (FAMSES) have significant and positive effect (0.09 and 0.10) on the changes of the two long-term occupational achievement equations(PAY6875, DI6875).

In the non-white regression equations (Table 20), MMM job-changing pattern has a positive and significant effect on DI6870 (0.16) which ranks the third important effect. MMM's and MIX's have no significant effect on other short-term and long-term changes of occupational achievement. On the other hand, FAMRESP shows significant and negative effects on all equations (from -0.09 to -0.14) in which it ranks from the second to the forth important effect.

OCCACH continues to have significant and negative effect in three equations: PAY6870, DI6870, and DI6875. Its effect is

the most important one with standardize betas range from -0.31 to -0.34. INERTIA has a positive effect only on two occupational status achievement equations: DI6870 and DI 6875. It shows the non-white has an less orderly career development than the white in terms of the rate of pay. It indicates that previous working experience, organizational seniority, and job training of the non-white do not help to improve their payment. Education also has positive and significant effects in all equations (0.12 to 0.26). It has an important position in explaining the changes of the occupational achievement. The magnitudes of the educational effects are similar to those of the white. Family SES (FAMSES), has only a significant and positive effect on PAY6870. That means intergeneration mobility is a bit less important for the non-white than the white.

In short, findings from these regressions can be summarized as follow:

(1) Analysis from the above regressions show that MMM job-changing pattern has an unique and positive effect on occupational mobility in most cases among the white (PAY6870, DI6870, and DI6875) and in one case among non-white (DI6870). The MMM effect is still significant net of the effects of OCCACH, INERTIA, FAMRESP, ED68, and FAMSES which means job-change as a form of labor market behavior increases the predictive power of the existing models on the occupational mobility process. This demonstrates clearly the shortcomings of studying

occupational achievement process without paying attention to workers' labor market behavior. We cannot simply subsume job-change as a consequence of an automatic process of the supply and demand market mechanism. Under such conception, job-change will not have an independent effect net of the occupational returns and individual qualifications. Better offers in other jobs not necessarily lead individuals changing their jobs; job-changes involve a strong motivation to improve job rewards, ability to make adaptation to new environment, and the absence of environmental constraints for moving away from the current jobs. These requirements encourage some workers changing their jobs but not for others. Job-change has its own effect on the occupational mobility process.

(2) Family Responsibility which indicates of the marital stage transition from single (low FAMRESP) to mother (high FAMRESP) have significant and negative effect on almost all regressions regardless of race. Previous model on occupational attainment process focus too much on individual characteristics such as social origin, achievement orientation, and human capital recources. We have illustrated that individual life-course context is important to individuals' mobility process. Women with high FAMRESP scores mean that they are more engaged in taking care of their husbands and children. They are more likely than others to lower down their aspiration in occupational achievement in order to fit family needs. It is also suspected when they change their jobs, they tend to select jobs with lower

job reward in an exchange for family convenience. In addition, they may be less able to maximize the returns of their job resources, such as education, seniority, work experience etc., because of their family burden. For women with low family responsibility, they simply have not get married and with no burden from childrearing. There is no need for them to make any concession in order to fulfil family roles. The negative relations between family responsibility and occupational mobility is consistent with our life-course perspective on women occupational achievement.

(3) OCCACH is the most important factor in this regression model. It has significant and negative effect in almost all equations. Low OCCACH tends to have better chance in improving their occupational returns. It coincides with the fact that low OCCACH tends to have MMM job-changing pattern and MMM job-changing pattern has an advantage over other forms of job-changing patterns. Therefore, we interpret that low OCCACH tends to have the MMM job-changing patterns because of the motive to improve job returns.

Education tends to be an important resource for improving the subsequent career returns. We have implicitly controlled the initial placement effect in our dependent variable. Education continues to have significant and positive effect in the changes of occupational achievement. It is a very important determinant in allocating individuals to the occupational hierarchy.

INERTIA has small but significant effects in some

regressions in which it falls behind our expectations. It indicates that female workers have a less orderly career development. As for FAMSES, it has only a small effect in a few equations which indicates that intergeneration mobility is less important.

2. Interaction Between Marital Stages and Job-changing Pattern

In the above-mentioned regression model, it is found that job-changing pattern (MMM) has significant and positive effects on the changes of occupational achievement, especially among the white working women. The effects of job-changing patterns depend on the motivations of the job-changers. It is expected that the effect varies with the life-course stages. There are some indications that family reponsibility has negative effect on occupational mobility. In the following regression model, it is intended to analyze the effect of job-changing pattern under three marital stages: never-married, married with no children, and married with some children. The independent variables follow previous entry order in the regression except that FAMRESP is excluded in the analysis.

(1) Short-term Effect of the Job-changing Pattern

In Table 21 and Table 22, we have shown that job-changing pattern have an unique and positive effect on the changes of the occupational achievement. It is suspected that such a positive effect will change corresponding to employers' life-course

Table 21. Standardize Beta Coefficients of the Regression on the Short-term Occupational Achievement Change By Marital Status (White)

VARIABLE	INCOME CHANGE (PAY6870)			STATUS CHANGE (DI6870)		
	SINGLE	WIFE	MOTHER	SINGLE	WIFE	MOTHER
OCCACH	-0.36**	-0.28**	-0.37**	-0.47**	-0.23**	-0.27**
INERTIA	0.05	0.08	0.02	0.07*	0.05	0.13
ED68	0.39**	0.42**	-0.02	0.27**	0.05**	0.15
FAMSES	0.02	0.10	0.23*	0.00	-0.03	-0.05
MMM	0.09	-0.07	-0.24*	0.16**	0.06	0.13
MIX	-0.02	-0.09	-0.15	-0.00	-0.02	0.03
MULTIPLE R	0.35	0.42	0.40	0.45	0.26	0.30
R SQUARE	0.12	0.18	0.16	0.20	0.07	0.09
SIGNIFICANCE	0.0000	0.0000	0.0052	0.0000	0.0062	0.0105
MIN. TOLERANCE	0.45	0.71	0.57	0.47	0.70	0.48
N	720	192	111	866	264	188

* $p < 0.05$
** $p < 0.01$

Table 22. Standardize Beta Coefficients of the Regression on the Short-term Occupational Achievement Change By Marital Status (Non-white)

VARIABLE	INCOME CHANGE (PAY6870)			STATUS CHANGE (DI6870)		
	SINGLE	WIFE	MOTHER	SINGLE	WIFE	MOTHER
OCCACH	-0.32**	-0.78**	-0.05	-0.40**	-0.41	-0.35**
INERTIA	0.06	-0.17	-0.03	0.11*	0.05	0.05
ED68	0.27**	0.56**	0.24	0.16*	0.22	0.34**
FAMSES	0.18*	0.06	-0.02	-0.03	-0.18	-0.13
MMM	-0.06	-0.26	0.03	0.20*	-0.07	0.09
MIX	-0.06	-0.03	0.12	0.11	0.20	0.03
MULTIPLE R	0.38	0.72	0.25	0.43	0.46	0.37
R SQUARE	0.14	0.53	0.06	0.18	0.21	0.14
SIGNIFICANCE	0.0000	0.0222	0.6308	0.0000	0.2916	0.0250
MIN. TOLERANCE	0.43	0.38	0.48	0.39	0.41	0.44
N	205	25	73	270	36	104

* $p < 0.05$
** $p < 0.01$

context. This section examines the short-term effect of the job-changes on the changes of the hourly rate of pay (PAY6870) and occupational status (DI6870) in each marital stage.

Among the white in Table 21, MMM job-changing pattern has no significant effect in PAY6870 among the single working women and working wives. As to the working mothers, it has a significant and negative effect (-0.24), and the magnitude of such effect ranks the second place in the regression. This trend indicates that simultaneous change in employer, occupation, and industry does not bring any immediate benefit, in terms of the hourly rate of pay, to the young women in our sample. Job-changers may need time to acquire production skill in order to have a more desirable job returns. Comparatively speaking, working mothers have a less favorable immediate result in the rate of pay than the other marital stages; they experience a lost in their job rewards. It is within our expectation that employer with high family responsibility will benefit less in the rate of pay from job-change. For the MIX job-changing pattern, it shows no significance in any marital stage.

As for the occupational status changes (DI6870), MMM job-changing pattern has a significant and positive effect (0.16) among the single working women. This positive effect ranks the third place after OCCACH and ED68. There is no significant effect among working wives and working mothers. These findings also support our assumption that workers with less family responsibility are most likely benefit from job-change than those

with high family responsibility. Although working mothers do not benefit from the MMM job-changing pattern, they do not experience any lost in their occupational status. In general, occupational status is more stable than the rate of pay. The former is more related to the nature of the job especially the education requirement of the job occupant. For the latter, it responses more to the productivity. Therefore, job-change does not cause a negative return in occupational status. To the MMM job-changing pattern, they have no significant immediate effect in the three marital stages.

In short, we have strong evidence among the white that family responsibility affect the outcome of job-change. For the single working women, they experience a positive return in occupational status from MMM job changing pattern. Although there is no such effect on the hourly rate of pay, it does indicate that they have promote to a better position in the occupational hierarchy through changing their jobs. They will improve their payment when they accumulate job-specific skill to enhance their productivity. On the other hand, working mothers experience no such promotion in occupational status from MMM job-changing pattern. Furthermore, they experience a lost in their rate of pay. This suggests that when working women shift to another job, they are less concern with better prospects. In many cases, they cannot maximize their productivity protential as reflected in the loss of pay rate. We suggest this is a result

of the wish to fulfill family needs when the working mothers consider to have job-change. To the working wives, the effect of the family responsibility is in between of the other two marital stages. They neither gain nor lose in the MMM job-changing pattern.

In all the six regressions, MIX has no significant effect. This is because the MIX job-change has little difference with the SSS's. So, the MIX's do not cause significant difference in short term occupational achievement changes from the SSS's.

Among the non-white, the regression on short-term change in rate of pay (PAY6870) is not significant in the case of working mothers. As for the single working women and working wives, both MMM and MIX have no significant effects. That means job-changing pattern is not relevant to the change in the pay rate for the non-white. This is consistent to the finding in Table 17 that the three types of job-change: SSS, MIX, and MMM do not produce a significant short-term difference on the change of hourly payment. It seems that the difference in family responsibility between single working women and working wives does not make difference on the consequences of short-term hourly payment.

In terms of occupational status changes (DI6870), the regression on working wives is not significant, therefore it is excluded from our discussion. As for the single working women,

MMM has a significant and positive effect (0.20) on the status change. For the working mothers, no such effect exists. In this case, it supports that employers with less family responsibility have a more favorable return from job-changes. As for the MIX job-changing pattern, no significant effect is appeared in these two marital groups.

In gerenal, we find no contradictory evidence to the hypothesis that those with low family responsibility will benefit more than those with high family responsibility from job-changes among the non-white. In addition, we find supports in the short-term occupational status changes; the single working women benifit from the MMM job-changing pattern while working mothers do not.

(b) Long-term Effect of the Job-changing Pattern

In the previous section, there is evidence that the short-term consequence of job-change is very much depended on job-changers' life-course context. We attempt to explore whether this pattern of job-change effect persists for a longer period. The dependent variables are the differences between 1968 to 1975 occupational achievement (PAY6875 and DI6875). We expect the pattern will be less apparent for two reasons. First, the life-course context of the respondents is likely to have changes; single women become wives and mothers, wives become mothers with small children, and mothers become free from child care responsibility. Second, more random variables will affect

Table 23. Standardize Beta Coefficients of the Regression on the Long-term Occupational Achievement Change By Marital Status (White)

VARIABLE	INCOME CHANGE (PAY6875)			STATUS CHANGE (DI6875)		
	SINGLE	WIFE	MOTHER	SINGLE	WIFE	MOTHER
OCCACH	-0.22**	0.02	0.05	-0.60**	-0.24**	-0.23**
INERTIA	0.10*	0.07	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.17*
ED68	0.24**	0.25*	0.22	0.19**	0.06	0.13
FAMSES	0.05	0.05	0.11	0.09**	-0.04	-0.00
MMM	0.12*	0.13	0.08	0.09*	0.07	0.26*
MIX	0.07	0.00	0.10	0.07	-0.01	0.07
MULTIPLE R	0.35	0.29	0.25	0.45	0.26	0.55
R SQUARE	0.12	0.08	0.06	0.20	0.07	0.30
SIGNIFICANCE	0.0000	0.0837	0.0000	0.0000	0.0123	0.0000
MIN. TOLERANCE	0.45	0.73	0.46	0.47	0.71	0.47
N	720	134	534	866	243	755

* $p < 0.05$
** $p < 0.01$

Table 24. Standardize Beta Coefficients of the Regression on the Long-term Occupational Achievement Change By Marital Status (Non-white)

VARIABLE	INCOME CHANGE (PAY6875)			STATUS CHANGE (DI6875)		
	SINGLE	WIFE	MOTHER	SINGLE	WIFE	MOTHER
OCCACH	-0.08	-0.87**	0.38*	-0.44**	0.24	-0.30*
INERTIA	0.05	0.10	0.03	0.14*	0.20	0.16
ED68	0.16	0.52*	0.10	0.07	-0.09	0.24*
FAMSES	0.08	0.19	-0.08	0.07	0.12	-0.09
MMM	-0.04	-0.81**	-0.00	0.12	0.02	0.05
MIX	0.09	-0.63*	0.36*	0.07	0.16	-0.07
MULTIPLE R	0.21	0.86	0.58	0.47	0.36	0.35
R SQUARE	0.04	0.74	0.33	0.22	0.13	0.12
SIGNIFICANCE	0.3096	0.0052	0.0007	0.0000	0.7566	0.0640
MIN. TOLERANCE	0.38	0.31	0.48	0.34	0.41	0.43
N	159	19	63	220	29	95

* $p < 0.05$
** $p < 0.01$

respondents' occupational achievement in these seven years.

Among the white in Table 23, MMM job-changing pattern has a positive and significant long-term effect (0.12) on hourly payment of the single working women's group. In contrast, no such effect exists in the short-term changes of hourly payment (PAY6870). In Chapter Four, we have suggested that white single working women have a motivation to maximize long-term benefit rather than immeditate gains when they consider to have the MMM job-changes. The above findings supports our speculation. As for the working mothers, MMM has no significant effect on the long-term change of hourly payment. In the comparison with the negative short-term effect, working mothers seem to be relieved from their family burden which affect their occupational achievement. Moreover, to compare the long-term effect on the change of the hourly payment between single working women and working wives, MMM job-change pattern seems to favor the former rather than the latter. That means there is a long-term conditional effect of marital stage on the outcome of job changes. As for the MMM job-changing pattern, it shows no significant effect in all marital state.

In terms of the changes in occupational status, MMM job-changing pattern has significant and positive effect among single working women (0.09) and working mothers (0.26). No significant effect is found among the working wives. For the single working women, their long-term benefit from the MMM

job-change on occupational status declines when it is compared with the short-term effect (0.16). We do not consider this as a reflection of their long-sight when they decided to change their jobs. It is suspected that working mothers have not fully actualized their work potentiality when their children are small. They, especially those have made sacrifice in changing their jobs, are more likely than the others to correct their deprivations when their children are at school age after seven years. To the working wives, however, the long-term and short-term effects are not significant. In general, the long-term conditional effect is no longer existed in the occupational status change. As to the MIX job-changing pattern, no significant effect is found in any regression.

For the non-white in Table 24, only the regressions on the working wives and working mothers are significant. Among the working wives, both MMM and MIX job-changing patterns have a long-term significant and negative effect. It is speculated that non-changers (SSS) are more likely to have seniority than job-changers (MIX and MMM); they should be less affected when their family began to expand. But the case number is too small (19) that we decide not to make any generalization. To the working mothers, only MIX job-changing pattern have a significant and positive long-term effect (0.36) on the change of pay rate. We follow the same explanations as in the white cases; working mothers are more likely to correct their deprivation of job rewards due to previous sacrifice in changing their jobs. In the

long-term effect on occupational status change, only the regression among the single working women is significant. Both the MMM and MIX patterns have no significant effects. With regard to the short-term positive effect of the MMM, the benefit from such change diminishes among the single working women.

In short, we find that the expected conditional effect of marital stage persists only among the white in the long-term change of the hourly rate of pay. In other cases, the short-terms advantages or disadvantages from job-change tends to diminish. In addition, there are some evidences that working mothers who have sacrifice job rewards when children are small, tend to correct their occupational deprivation when they relieve from their family responsibility.

3. Marital Stages and the Return From Job Resources

In addition to the effects of job-changing patterns on the occupational achievement, there are four other factors included in the regression models. OCCACH is the most important determinant and have negative effects on the occupational achievement in almost all regressions. We interpret it as a ceiling effect. FAMSES has a positive effect in three cases only; they are the least important effect in their own regressions. The Blau-Duncan research tradition has repeatedly pointed out that the direct effect of social origin on respondents' subsequent occupational achievement is not important in the modern societies. Therefore, the small effect of FAMSES

is a normal phenomenon.

ED68 and INERTIA are regarded as resources for job returns. They are expected to have positive effects on the occupational achievement. Education has long been regarded as the main determinant of occupational achievement; it is also true in our case. Its importance in the regressions rank after OCCACH only. INERTIA stands for work experiences, seniority, and job-specific training; these assets help to promote career advancement, therefore it should have a positive effect in the regression models. Findings support this idea. It is suspected that the returns of these job resources decline as the family role of the working women become more dominant.

In the short-term changes on the hourly rate of pay, Table 21, the effect of ED68 among the white working mothers is not significant; that means working mothers are unable to utilize their educational qualifications to earn better occupational returns. In compared with single working women and working wives, the standardize coefficients are 0.39 and 0.42 respectively; they are the most important effect in the regressions. The difference between the two coefficients is so small that we do not interpret it as a strong counter evidence to our hypothesis. In the short-term occupational status change, Table 21, the coefficients for the white single working women and working wives are 0.27 and 0.05 respectively while no significance is found among the working mothers. The declining

importance of the ED68 on occupational achievement among the three marital stages further supports our hypothesis.

In the long-term changes of the rate of pay, Table 23, regression on the white working wives is not significant. ED68 has a significant effect of 0.24 among the white single working women while there is no such effect for the working mothers. In the long-term changes on the occupational status, the standardize regression coefficient of ED68 is 0.09 for the white single working women, but it has no significant effect among the working mothers. The above findings of the long-term changes in occupational achievement support the idea that the returns to job-resources is negatively associated with family responsibility.

For the non-white, the short-term regression on the rate of pay among the working mothers is not significant. In the rest of the two regressions, the standardize regression coefficients for the single working women and the working wives are 0.27 and 0.56 respectively. This trend is out of our expectation that working mothers are more efficient in converting their educational resource into job rewards than the single working women. But we must be cautious that the sample size for the non-white working wives is small (25) that the estimates are highly problematic. As for the short-term changes in occupational status, regression on working wives' is not significant, therefore it is excluded in the following comparison. The standardized coefficients for the single working

women and working mothers are 0.16 and 0.34. This pattern repeats in the findings of the short-term changes in the hourly rate of pay. These counter evidences are out of our conceptual scheme and need for further research effort to explain the effect of marital status on the utilization of educational resources among the non-white.

In the long-term changes in the hourly rate of pay, the regression on single working woman is not significant, therefore we limit our comparison between working wives and working mothers. The standardize effect of ED68 for working wives is 0.52 while no significant effect for working mothers. This order of magnitude is within our expectation, but the sample size for working wives (19) and working mothers (63) are too small for us to make a conclusive comment. In the long-term changes in occupational status, only the regression on single working women is significant, amd the comparison among the regressions of different marital stages is possible.

In the short-term changes of the rate of pay among the white, Table 21, INERTIA is not significant in all the three marital stages. It reflects the insignificance of the career specific commitment in women workers' occupational achievement. The labor market probably does not offer them an orderly career ladder. As for the short-term status change, the standardize regression coefficient of INERTIA for single working women is 0.07. For the women in the other two marital stages, the effects

of INERTIA are not significant. This trend supports our hypothesis that women with lower family responsibility is more able to utilize their resources.

In the long-term changes in the hourly payment among the white, comparison is possible between single working women and working mothers. INERTIA has a significant effect on the single working women with a standardize coefficient of 0.10 while INERTIA effect is not significant for working mothers. This findings also favor to our expectation on the negative relationship between returns from job resources and family responsibility. There is an counter evidence in the long-term change in occupational status; INERTIA only has significant effect among the working mothers with a standardize coefficient of 0.17. The possible explanation is that most of the working mothers relieve from their family responsibility which enable to maximize the job return from their resources.

For the non-white, INERTIA has no significant effects in the short-term regressions on the change of hourly payment among the three marital stages. As for the short-term change in occupational status, INERTIA has a significant effect on the single working women with a standardize coefficient of 0.11, but no such effect among the working mothers. This case again lend support to our hypothesis.

In the long-term changes in the hourly payment, regression on the non-white single working women is not significant, and INERTIA has no significant effect on the other

two marital stages. For the long-term changes in the occupational status, only the regression on single working women is significant which does not allow us to make any comparison. It is worthy to notice that INERTIA has significant effect with a standardize coefficient of 0.14 which means single working women are able to convert their job resources into occupational rewards.

To summarize to the above findings, there are only a few cases which contradict to our expectation. They include the ED68 effect on the regression on the short-term changes in hourly payment and occupational status among the nonwhite and the INERTIA effect on the regression on the long-term change in occupational status among the white. Most of the cases consistent with the hypothesis that returns from job resources is negatively correlated with family responsibility.

4. Comparison of Theoretical Perspectives

It is found that job-changing pattern affects the occupational mobility process. MMM is associated with higher improvement in occupational returns. Even when we let all other factors related to occupational mobility account for the occupational changes, MMM still has a significant effect on PAY6875, DI6870, and DI6875 (Table 19 and Table 20). It shows that the Blau-Duncan paradigm has weakness. It neglects employees' labor market behaviors which will affect the outcome

of occupational achievement.

The labor market structure model is more realistic in its consideration of the market constraints which prevent the workers from correcting this misinvestment. From this perspective, it is unexpected that MMM job-changing pattern is the most frequent type of job-changes, and it leads to a positive returns in PAY6875, DI6870, and DI6875 for the white and DI6870 for the non-white. From the labor fragmentation perspective, a simultaneous change in all three aspects of jobs means the starting of a new career line which essentially leads to short-term lost in work returns. This is not exactly in our sample. No matter in long- or short-term returns, the consequences of the MMM job-changing pattern is positive in occupational achievement. We suggest that two characteristics of the female workers are responsible to this phenomenon: female workers are less equipped with specific work skill while seniority, work experience are less important in the intra-organizational promotions. These two factors encourage low job attachment and job-change is therefore guided by immediate gains. Simultaneous job-change in employer, occupation, and industry is usually attracted by better immediate occupational returns.

In Table 19 and Table 20, it is also found that family responsibility (FAMRESP) has negative effect on the occupational mobility. This is especially apparent on the non-white cases. It gives support to the life-course perspective that career

development is affected by life-course stages. We further hypthesize that the same types of behavior may have a different meaning for people in different life-course stage and will therefore lead to different consequences.

The MMM job-changing pattern has a positive effect on occupational achievement in the white and non-white subgroups. When the regression is done separately for three marital status groups, the effect of MMM changes. For the never-married women, especially the white, it has a considerable positive effect on both long-term and short-term occupation mobility. As for those working wives and mothers, MMM job-changing pattern diminishes in its effect on occupational achievement. The MMM's in most equations is not significant, and is negative in short-term change in the rate of pay (but positive in long-term changes in occupational status) for working mothers. It renders supports to the hypothesis that the relationship between job-changing pattern and occupation returns varies under different life-course stage.

In addition, the effect of INERTIA, and ED68 also varies with different life-course stages. Working wives and mother are less able to convert their working experience, seniority, occupational trainings and education resource into better occupational returns than the never-married working women. These evidences directly support the hypothesis that occupational achievement of the working wives and mothers is negatively affected by their family role. They simiply cannot make use of their resourses. It demonstrates the utility in applying the

life-course perspective to the analysis of the process of occupational mobility.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The young women in the NLS sample have a very high job-change rate. Over 80% of the women in the labor force experience some kinds of job-change between 1968 to 1970. Moreover, the simultaneous change in employer, occupation, and industry (31%) is the most frequent job-changing pattern. It indicates that they lack an orderly career development. This may be due to the fact that they are in a stage of career 'shopping'. In addition, it is also suggested that their low job-specfic skill investment and the relatively unimportance of seniority in promotion within a firm are responsible for the low level of job attachment.

As for the trait differences between the job changers and non-changers in the three aspects of change, the white changers tend to be lower in occupational achievement and job inertia. For the non-white changers, they are lower in their occupational achievement and have heavier family responsiblities. Discriminant analysis shows that these differences between job changers and non-changers do not help very much in predicting group membership. It means that there is no great difference between these two groups of people. But as regard to the job-changing pattern, discriminant analysis shows a very high correct classification rate. The differences between SSS and MMM are greatest in terms of the group centroid location.

Logit analysis shows that low occupational achievement,

low job inertia, low education increase the chance of occurrence in MMM job-changing patterns (relative the SSS). For the white and non-white women, occupational achievement is the most important factor which affects job-changing pattern. Our interpretations of the motives which associated with these factors are as follows: (1) low occupational achievement indicates the motivation to improve job returns, (2) low education relates to job change because of low job attachment, (3) job inertia reduces job change because of greater investment in the current job.

The first factor is essentially an active action which attempt to maximize work returns. In contrast, the third factor is more passive in nature, workers with more job specific resources tend to stay behind in order to minimize the loses due to job-changes. With the exception of the white single working women, there is evidence that family responsibility is negatively associated with the aggressive tendency to treat job-changes as a way to improve the occupational achievement. It is interpreted that the motivation of job-change for those with heavy family responsibility is more related to family needs than career prospect. In addition, the decline of the economic role is also responsible for the lack of initiatives in improving their job returns. On the other hand, family responsibility is associated with the awareness to protect the existing job resources. It indicates that those working women with heavy family responsibility are also aware of the benefit in the work, but

they response in a more passive way in order to maximize their returns under the family constraints.

The effect of the family contraints also reflected in working women's job-change rate. When the cost of job-changes is low, i.e. low OCCACH, low INERTIA, and low ED68, working mothers and working wives have a much higher job-change rate than the single working women. It is suspected that the higher job-change rate is related to the adaptation to family needs. On the other hand, working mothers and working wives have a lower job-change rate when the cost is high, i.e. high OCCACH, high INERTIA, and high ED68. Our interpretation is that family burden reduce market opportunities, therefore those with heavy family responsibility are less likely to take the risk to change their job when the cost is high.

There are also some evidences that family responsibility is negatively associated with the ability to convert job resources, including education and job inertia, into occupational returns. This tendency is especially apparent in the short-term changes of the occupational achievement among the white. It indirectly supports the arguement that family responsibility reduces the motivation or simply unable to maximize the occupational returns out of working women's job resources.

In addition to the fact that family responsibility affects work strategy, job-change rate, and returns of job resources, we directly examine the effect of family responsibility on the changes of occupational achievement.

Family responsibility has significant and negative effect in most of the regressions on occupational mobility (Table 19 and Table 20). These evidences strongly support the presuppostition of this study that life-course context affect the labor market behavior which affects the occupational achievement. It simply pointed out that we cannot affort to neglect individual's life-course context when we are studying the occupational mobility process.

The consequences of different job-changing patterns are our ultimate concerns. It is found that the simultaneous change in employer, occupation, and industry job-changing pattern (MMM) is associated with higher occupational status improvement for both white and non-white working women. As for the income change, MMM job-changing pattern brings the highest return, MIX comes the next , and SSS is the lowest for white women. For the non-whites, the differences among MMM, MIX, and SSS are not significant.

After controlling for the occupational achievement, job inertia, family responsibility, education, and family SES in the multiple regressions, it is found that the job-changing pattern variable has an unique contribution in accounting for the residual variance on the changes of occupational achievement for the female labors, especially for the white. The MMM has positive effect on 1968 to 1975 changes in the hourly rate of pay, on 1968 to 1970 and 1968 to 1975 changes in occupational status for the white, and 1968 to 1970 changes in occupational

status for the non-white. Besides the job-changing pattern variable, education and job inertia have positive effects while job achievement has the negative effect on the changes of occupational achievement.

In the consideration of the effect of the job-changing pattern on occupational mobility, it is suggested that the consequences of job-change vary with life-course context. The regression model in Table 18 and Table 19 show that family responsibility has a negative effect in occupational achievement in both white and non-white. It is hypothesized that the consequences of job-changing pattern varies with respondents' family responsibility which is indicated by respondents' marital status. Research findings show that MMM effect varies with marital stages. It is very clear in the short-term occupational achievement changes that single working women benifited from the MMM job-change while working mothers experience negative effect from the MMM job-changes. As for the working wives, they neither gain or lose from it. These results are the manifestation of different motives behind the same kind of job-changing behavior. Single working women change jobs because of better job rewards while working mothers change their jobs in order to exchange for the convenience in taking care of the family. The motivations of job-changes for the working wives are mixtures of these two extremes. These results show that there are interactions between the work life and the life-course development.

The above research findings have implications on the strength and the weakness of the three theoretical perspectives on modelling the occupational mobility process. The socialization model promoted by Blau and Duncan have important contributions on identifying the effect of individuals' pre-labor-market characteristics. Education has been regarded as the most important variable in affecting the occupational achievement. Regression models on occupational achievement changes in this paper also find that education is the most important positive effect. Besides the initial placement effect in the occupational hierarchy, education continues to have a very important effect in employers' subsequent mobility process. Its major weakness is that it ignores the independent effect of the labor market process on the occupational mobility process. In this study, it is found that job-change, a common form of labor market behavior, has an unique effect on occupational mobility.

The labor market structure perspective is more realistic in that it consider job-change as a factor affecting the occupational achievement. It correctly pointed out that there are labor market fiction in transfering job resources, such as job skills and seniority, in different jobs. Research findings show that job inertia tends to reduce the job-change rate. But this perspective considers job-change only from a career point of view, the cosequences of job-change depend on the transferibility of previous job skill, the importance of seniority in promotion, time require to overcome the initial cost in acquiring new skill

etc. It neglects the importance of the motivations of the job-changers when they consider job-changes. This will cause misplacement of the meaning of the job-change for the job-changers and thus fails to predict its consequences. This perspective is unable to explain the findings that MMM job-changing pattern has a positive effect for single working women while the effect is negative for the working mothers.

The life-course perspective offers a comprehensive view on the work life. In order to understand the meaning of job-changes, it is suggested to put the job-changers into their own life context. As we have discussed earlier that the consequences of job-changing pattern on the occupational achievement depend on the motivation underlying such action. Motivation is essentially subjective, we can only understand individuals' motivation in job-change through their life situations. For instance, it is a common belief that work orientation varies with life-course stages. Women's family responsibility becomes more heavy as they get marry and have children, and their work role declines. Under this general hypothesis, we expect that job-change for single working women is more related job returns while it is more related to family needs for the working mothers. This hypothesis is supported by our research findings.

A massive women labor force participation in recent years indicates that women increasingly gain an independent economic

roles. This is true to the extent that the work role do not affect their family responsibilities. Women are still far away from having an independent work role. Only changes in the family institution, especially on the definition on the share of family responsibilities can make the independence of women work role possible. The social supporting system must also adjust to meet the needs of dual career family.

This paper suggests a life-course approach as a tool to understand female labor market behavior and its consequence. Conceptually, life-course is a developmental concept which does not only limit to the marital stages discussed in this paper. We only employed a few life-course events to analyze the relationship between job-changing patterns and the occupational achievement. It does not exclude the possibility that there are variations of these relationships in the later stage of motherhood. As Sharpe (1984) points out, working mothers' work orientation changes as their children grow up and no longer need intensive care.

It is also well recognized that male and female have a different occupational mobility regime. The life-cycle variations on female labor market behavior and its consequences on occupational achievement have an important analytic value on the differences between male's and female's occupational mobility process. The findings in this paper is probably not applicable to the male workers. Marriage and parenthood are less destructive or even constructive to the male career development.

For men, family responsibilities reinforce their economic role as the bread winner, career advancement is their prime concern which arouse motivations for upward mobility.

In recent years, there is a concern the differential occupational achievement between sexes. It is suggested that the life-course perspective is useful in comparing the non-work factors which differentiate the mobility process between male and female. The different life-course demands between the two sexes may be a good starting point for understanding their discreprancy of work returns.

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